619 others. This differentiated them clearly from all neighbouring
[191] tribes.

B. CEREMONIAL. A member of a secret society in any of
[575] the above towns was accepted as a member in any other one.
[609] A person of another tribe, even if known to belong to a comparable society, was treated as an uninitiated person.

C. ORIGIN AND RELIGION. The people of Bella Coola, *Tāl·io*, and Kimsquit felt themselves to be akin through acceptance of the fact that their ancestors had been created together in the beginning of time. This marked them off with
[771] great clearness from all other tribes, especially from the Carriers of the interior. This belief formed a sentimental and religious bond of great strength.

NEIGHBOURING TRIBES

648 It is desirable to describe, briefly, the tribes with which the Bella Coola came in contact.

THE CARRIERS

East of Bella Coola, amid the mountains of the interior, roved the Carriers. In summer they often came down to the river valley to fish or trade for salmon, and in winter they were sometimes forced by cold and starvation again to visit the Bella Coola, Bella Bella, or Rivers Inlet people. There was a
[563] good deal of intermarriage between them and the inhabitants of
the upper valley, so that the wanderers were able to spend the
cold months with relatives. None the less, the Bella Coola
[180] considered these people utterly foreign in habits and beliefs,
[578] and to call a man a "Carrier" was, and still is, a deadly insult.
The Carriers lacked the rich ceremonial life of the coastal
peoples who, therefore, regarded them with scorn and
[790] contempt. The presence of a few of the much-despised Carriers
was, however, almost necessary to the correct performance of
the winter dances since they were uninitiated spectators whom
it was necessary to impress and delude.

from the moon and stated that there were mountains and snow 821
on it. It is commonly stated that the marks on the moon [756]
represent a man carrying a bucket.

The stars figure but slightly either in Bella Coola myth- [773]
ology or thought; it is not even known who made them. Two
in the Great Bear constellation are called respectively *Tpiksta* and *X̣ɪngunes*, "Little Girls." A lone star in the same part of the sky, named *A'lox*, is said to be following the girls to the forest for illicit intercourse.

Moon, stars, and above all the sun, were, and still are to 805
a certain extent, used by the Bella Coola in computing the 821
passage of time. There are no individuals with the definite
prerogative of keeping count of time, but formerly wise old [554]
men used to do so.[4] Differences of opinion were the rule rather [578]
than the exception, a condition which often led to bitter dis-
putes concerning the proper date for starting the winter cere- [796]
monials. Boas (p. 41) has recorded the Bella Coola calendar [114]
in greater detail than the present writer has been able to
do. The making of calendrical observations is a lost art, [178]
and the following list of the months was all that could be
learnt. It will be noted that these agree with Boas in regard [114]
to the months in the early part of the year, but not in those
between the summer and winter solstices; no explanation is offered for this disparity.

First moon after the summer solstice: *Sikălamtak*, which has the significance, "The Time for Sockeye Salmon to Ascend the River."

Second moon after the summer solstice: *Si'islalsil*, "The Time for Eating Dog Salmon."

Third moon after the summer solstice: *Si'irmai stl*, "The Time for Eating Cohoe Salmon."

Fourth moon after the summer solstice: *Sigălyam*, "The Time for Gathering Fern Root," or *Sidakaas di Ăna'likwalsaix*,

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[4] A Kimsquit informant stated that there were professional calendrical experts [575]
in his home, when he was a young lad although members of the *kusiut* society (II, [463]
chap. 1) sometimes attended to this matter.

*776 tribe are superior to themselves in carpentry, and ascribe their [186] skill to the fact that many of them are descendants of *Yulā-timut.* [641] Some of the coastal tribes are said to believe that *Äḷquntäm* erred in the manufacture of many of the sea mammals, giving them, for example, human heads on fish bodies; he later rectified this by sending his Carpenters to adjust their form. This is not a Bella Coola belief. One elderly man stated that the skill of the Carpenters in painting and modelling was derived from a little girl named *Qaxlianao*; no confirmation could be obtained for this statement and the information was vague and unreliable.

Since their creation of the sky and many features of this world, as well as birds and animals, the Carpenters have entered but little into the lives of the Bella Coola. Like other supernatural beings, they are capable of going anywhere, but for many generations they have not been seen on this earth. [575] Their most important function, perhaps, is to act as patrons for various *kusiut* dancers. This subject will be described in detail in vol. II, chap. 1; for the moment it is enough to say that many supernatural beings regard members of this semi-sacred society as their protégés, and grant them power to per- [535] form dances. On these occasions masked figures are used to represent the patrons, thus enlightening uninitiated persons as to the appearance and attributes of various supernatural beings.

Among the many residents of *Nusmät-a* are two sons of *Äḷquntäm*, *Sänallipəmalsts Äḷquntäm* and *Sno'alnlts Äḷquntäm*. The former in particular is dearly loved by his father and is often spoken of as *Nuslexmanurwultam*, "The Cherished One." [575] These two beings take no part in the affairs of mortals except as patrons of *kusiut* dancers. Like all supernatural beings they are considered to be immortal. Since *Äḷquntäm* has two sons it is to be assumed that he has, or had, a wife. Her name is not generally known, although she is sometimes spoken of as [538] *Nusmät-aiax-a*, "The Woman of *Nusmät-a*." There are also many stories describing his amours with human women resulting in semi-supernatural offspring.

* 776 the top. He concluded that this must be the home of the woman. Before the door of her house, wherever it may be, there are miniature totem-poles which open their painted mouths and speak in the voice of the animal or bird portrayed. The writer did not hear that her home was in the land above
[114] *Nusmāt-a*, as Boas (p. 28) states. At the present time knowledge of *Kāmai·ts* is so scanty that failure to confirm the previous observation is not surprising.

One or two passing remarks of elderly informants imply that *Kāmai·ts* may once have been more important to Bella Coola belief than she is now. One old man, already in his
[775] dotage, stated that long ago the dead used to dwell in her house. Another declared that long ago prayers were addressed
[782] to her, which is never done now. The word *kāmai·ts* is commonly used by the Bella Coola in a manner difficult to trans-
[192] late. It serves as equivalent for "please" or "thank you," but has an underlying significance of a supernatural benison or appeal. It is not a word to be used in casual conversation; it is reserved for important occasions or times of emotional stress. The comparative unimportance of *Kāmai·ts* probably rests on the fact that she belongs merely to the realm of ancient history and has no sociological significance, even as the patron of a *kusiut* dancer.

772 Another supernatural being so far removed from this world that he enters but little into the lives of the Bella Coola, is
* 776 *Sninia*. He is the male being whom *Ālquntām* sent down from above in the beginning of time to hold the earth in position, and who has since performed this duty. He lives among the ice of the far north, and has not been seen by mortals for many generations. He holds a rope fastened to the earth; when he is afraid that it has slipped slightly he takes a new grip and pulls the rope taut, pressing the world against the soles of his feet as he sits with legs extended, as a man would do to hold tight a kicking salmon. It is the tightening of the rope which
[823] causes an earthquake. If *Sninia* should lose his grip entirely
● 575 the earth would capsize. He is patron for several *kusiut*
* 776 dancers.

* 776 is in the upper Bella Coola valley near Firvale, cause cold
773 breezes by blowing them through their anuses. *uxluxwan·i* es-
[821] pecially is a prominent figure in mythology (I, p. 670), but she
has not appeared for many generations and her actions belong
to legend rather than to either religion or social practices.
It is said that she has four sons who once wanted to break a
large number of grass stalks. Finding it difficult to do so on
account of their toughness, they asked their mother to freeze
them; she did this and destroyed every other plant at the same
time.

* 776 Another anthropomorphic being is *Sxk'lätl*, the super-
821 natural South Wind of winter who brings storm and snow.
The Carriers affirm that every icicle which grows down until
177 its end is in the snow is his walking-stick, and that to break
[731] one causes famine. Some Bella Coola have adopted this be-
lief and carefully refrain from destroying such icicles.

* 776 Supernatural beings experience the same difficulty as mor-
tals in reckoning the passage of time. A number of calendrical
experts live in the land above, whose duty it is to record both
months and years. They are called *Ālmınskāllwaiyaix* or
Ālmınskitlnum. They have been seen occasionally, and are
● [575] shown, as masked figures, at *susaok* (I, p. 180), but not at *kusiut*
dances. Two of these beings always appear, and they argue
about their observations after the fashion of humans.

Another denizen of *Nusmāt·a* of slight importance in the
social life of the Bella Coola is *Xemxemālotla*, a friend and
[575] associate of *Ālquntām*. He acts as patron of *kusiut* dancers,
and in this manner is brought to the notice of mortals. In the
land above his function is to cherish *Tlāqmā·ks*, a being re-
sembling a diminutive man, created by *Ālquntām* as a child to
all supernatural beings. *Xemxemālotla* is its guardian or nurse;
and for safety he usually keeps his charge in the far distant
upper land above *Nusmāt·a*, where *Ālquntām* frequently visits
the two. In some mysterious manner, *Tlāqmā·ks* has been
[777] known to reach this earth, giving good fortune to the lucky
finder. He is in many cases spoken of as "The Cherished

838 woman who dressed as a man and used to hunt successfully,
[171] though she was married. Such practices are said to have been
not uncommon among the Haida. The women were considered
bold and independent, but the Bella Coola of today know little
*[776] about them, and are not even certain that *Sg̣unts* is responsible
for a female assuming the actions of a male. It will be readily
understood that he is not regarded with much awe, nor does
he influence their daily lives.

*776 Another supernatural being, uninfluential though resident
[822] upon earth, is Echo, *Setsalänl*, "The Voice Repeater." The
Bella Coola regard him as a male being, in human form, and
recognize his presence whenever sounds reverberate. He figures in mythology, occasionally appears as a masked figure at
●[575] *kusiut* or *sisaok* dances, but has neither helped nor harmed
human beings for so many generations that he is accordingly
neglected.

*776 A supernatural being from whom many Bella Coola have
787 had unpleasant visitations is *Slhmsila*, the cause of nightmares.
828 He is a man-like creature with black face and an enormous
head which he constantly scratches. His home is in *Nusmät·a*,
but he frequently descends to this world and frightens sleepers.
If a person scratches his head while asleep it is because he has
just seen *Slhmsila* doing so, and if he walks in his sleep it is to
escape this supernatural visitor. A sleep-walker is usually
aroused by having a bucket of water thrown over him. A
[751] person frequently troubled by *Slhmsila* can avoid him by
painting a black circle around each eye before going to sleep.

*776 With the exception of *Älquntäm*, the supernatural beings
thus far described play little part in the lives of the Bella Coola.
They believe in their existence, but do not expect to meet them,
and do not believe that they exercise much influence on the
course of their daily life. Supernatural beings of this ineffective
781 type are exceptional. A man goes into remote parts of the
mountains, or even into little frequented areas around his
*776 village, with mingled fear lest he encounter an actively malicious
being, and hope that he may meet a benevolent one. More-

including the dreaded point, Mesatche Nose, in human form. As each 539
came in, water swirled in and the canoe was tossed as if in a whirlpool; 776*
if it had capsized the occupants would have been devoured, but on each occasion one of the hunters threw a morsel of false hellebore on the surface, which stilled the waves. At last *Q̣omoqwa* and his friends admitted defeat, granted the four fishermen the powers of shamans, and gave them certain prerogatives.

Though *Q̣omoqwa* is usually unkind to mortals, and is correspondingly feared, instances are known in which he has be- [756]
stowed shamanistic powers for no apparent reason. The Bella 177
Coola say that the Bella Bella know more about *Q̣omoqwa* than 776*
they do, since he is essentially an ocean being and the Bella Bella are ocean people. It is possible that the Bella Coola concepts of this supernatural personage are entirely of Bella Bella origin. This supposition is strengthened by the fact
that *Q̣omoqwa* seldom appears in connection with the *kusiut* [575]
society, but frequently with the *sisaok* society, many of the rites of which came from Bella Bella.

Since human beings can travel on the sea only by means of 773
canoes, it is not surprising that the Bella Coola think of super- 776*
natural beings as doing likewise. Their beliefs include at least three huge canoes, manned by supernatural beings. The most important is that of *Noākx̣nᴇm*,[18] the name of its captain, whose crew consists of a number of supernatural birds and the hermaphrodite. Every year they come from the lands of the salmon and the berries, in the far west beyond the sea, and bear these to the coast of British Columbia. This belief, which runs counter to the conviction that *Ălquntăm* caused the animals and plants to grow, is merely one of the many inconsistencies of Bella Coola theology. *Noākx̣nᴇm* comes every autumn on his way to attend the gathering of the supernatural beings in the land above, and his arrival in the Bella Coola
River marks the commencement of the *kusiut* dances. He is [575]
one of the most important of *kusiut* patrons and his powers and functions are described in the chapter devoted to that

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[18] Cf. Boas, p. 40.

773 subject. He does not often appear to mankind, though every
*776 Bella Coola knows of his existence.
Another supernatural craft is that of *Winwina.*[17] It, too,
[575] brings salmon and berries from their home in the extreme west.
Knowledge of this canoe is limited to certain families who own
stories connected with it, and it likewise serves as patron for
kusiut dancers. Although both *Noăkx̣nɪm* and *Winwina* can
[761] easily destroy human beings, they usually pay no attention to
them, and have even been known to bestow supernatural
power. *Winwina* will be described in greater detail in connection
with *kusiut* dances.

The third canoe is termed *Winäs di Sä·łłdjo·ts*, "The War-Party
of the Tide," or *Winäs di Qala*, "The War-Party of the
Ocean." Its home is among small islands in the ocean. It is
a large canoe, manned by invisible submarine beings, who are
able to drive it at tremendous speed wherever they wish. The
members of the crew are not in themselves dangerous, but the
craft is greatly feared because it always transports *Sxlo·xlʻ*.
This supernatural creature is about the size of a seal, brown
in colour, and of jelly-like substance; it lies in the boat immediately
aft of the place from which water is bailed and constantly
rolls to and fro, like an animated mass of repulsive
jelly. Poison is constantly spreading from *Sxlo·xlʻ*, and anyone
placed in the canoe soon becomes weak, begins to shake
like *Sxlo·xlʻ*, and presently dies. This canoe is a source of
danger to those with whom it may come in contact, and an
even greater peril indirectly. The poison emanating from
773 *Sxlo·xlʻ* kills clams and mussels in the vicinity and renders
*776 them unfit for food. In some cases they die at once, with
825 open shells, and anyone finding them knows what has happened
761 and does not eat them, but in other cases they live for
a considerable period though saturated with the venom. If
[756] anyone eats these shellfish, he becomes flabby and jelly-like,
and soon dies, unless a powerful shaman can conquer the
*776 poison. Sometimes when a party is encamped on the shore
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[17] Cf. Boas, p. 38.

775 walk backwards, or on their heads. Mortals sometimes see
ghosts, but the apparition seals their lips so that they cannot
[761] recount their experiences. Death invariably follows. Shamans
[756] and other mortals endowed with great powers have been able
to penetrate to the realm below, and the knowledge of conditions there has been derived from their accounts. Food is
scarce in that land and ghosts are often driven up to earth to
264 search for it. Even a small morsel is enough to satisfy their
hunger, so that mortals throw fragments on the fire for the
775 benefit of their dead relatives. If a person drop a crumb it is
because a ghost has hooked it away from his hand; no wise
Bella Coola ever picks up such a morsel, knowing that to do
so would offend the hungry spectre. Deceased beings are
775 generally feared, although instances are known in which they
have shown kindness, particularly to their relatives. Like so
● [575] many supernatural beings, they figure most prominently as
patrons of *kusiut* dancers (see vol. II, chap. 1). Further information concerning them is contained in the description of life
after death.

* 776 Not even a complete list of beings would exhaust the
177 beliefs of the Bella Coola concerning the supernatural, since
any unexpected visitation is attributed by them to this source.
For example, when Mackenzie appeared, the first white man
with whom the Bella Coola had come in contact, they thought
that he must be from another world. Some thought him a
dead man returned to life, and others considered him a supernatural visitor from above who had fallen down to earth, as
did their first ancestors. The latter view prevailed, and it was
ultimately decided that he must be *Qomcua*, a supernatural
being resident aloft of whom little was known. This name was
applied to him, and it has since been given to all white men.[18]

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[18] Although it was in 1793 that Mackenzie passed down the Bella Coola valley, a number of stories of that event were still remembered in 1922. What most impressed the Bella Coola was his ability to make fire quickly. One man, now living, stated that he had heard from his mother that her father had spoken with him. Traditions of this type are valuable as reflecting the interests of a people, but their historical accuracy may well be doubted. One Kimsquit man, for example,

*776 and gaping holes in the earth. In such regions no fire can be
[778] lit. The last known area of this kind is up the river behind
Green Bay, about four miles from the sea. So far as could be
learnt, *bābunkʻ* have never assisted Bella Coola in any way nor
played any part in the social life of the community. They are
feared on account of their supernatural power, but appear so
seldom that they are practically disregarded.

More common than the last, and accordingly more important, is the *haohao*. It is an enormous bird with bony wings
and long, flexible beak. As it flies, the wings rattle violently,
and its note, an oft repeated "*Hao, hao, hao,*" can be heard for
miles. These birds are said to have been numerous in former
[535] years, and are well known to all Bella Coola. Masked figures
[575] representing them are often used at *kusiut* dances. The *haohao*
is feared for its practice of inserting its long beak into the
761 rectum of anyone sleeping carelessly in the forest and drawing
*776 forth his entrails. This can be prevented by standing upright
[789] a staff, such as all hunters carry, before going to sleep.

[539] A popular story states that once, not many years ago, a number of men camped at the edge of a canyon near their home, without taking this precaution. One of them was awakened by a slight movement of one of his companions and, looking up, he saw the long neck and beak of a *haohao* projecting over the rim of the canyon and sucking his partner's entrails. The convulsive shiver of the stricken man had awakened him. With his bow he shot an arrow into the bird's neck, causing it to disappear over the brink. Presently the long beak reappeared and he discharged another arrow with the same result. Again and again this happened until the attack ceased at dawn. The hunter assumed that a single bird had been repeatedly attacking, but when he looked over the edge of the cliff, he saw below a number of carcasses, each with an arrow in its throat. The canyon must have been a roosting place for the birds. His companions seemed still asleep, but when he investigated he found that all were dead; only the slightly enlarged orifice showed how they had been killed.

*776 No *haohao* has been seen within recent years, but one infor-
789 mant and her husband heard them on the south side of the Bella
Coola River about two miles from the sea. They would have

instructed people about the significance of death omens; it 773
was Raven who showed them the use of slings; and it was [622]
Raven who constructed secluded caves and ledges to serve as [823]
meeting-places for chiefs.

In brief, the Bella Coola regard Raven as an explorer, 773
teacher, and inventor, whose power, obtained from *Ałquntäm*,
enabled him to construct and outwit his maker, but not to 776
create. Much of his work was for the good of mankind, but much was evil and malicious, an aspect which belongs to mythology. Essentially human, Raven could have been included among anthropomorphic, as well as among zoomorphic beings. He differs from most of the supernatural ones in
belonging entirely to the past, as his descendants have none [825]
of the first Raven's power. It is doubtful whether he still exists, but in any case he has long since ceased to take any interest in the affairs of the Bella Coola, who consider him only as a figure of mythology and ancient history.

SUPERNATURAL BEINGS OF THE VEGETABLE AND MINERAL KINGDOMS

Bella Coola beliefs concerning anthropomorphic and zoo- 776
morphic beings are relatively clear and exact; their appearance 824
is known, their powers and functions recognized. The supernatural attributes of trees and plants are less definite. *Ałquntäm* created the former in the beginning of time, and they were consequently able to talk and act like human beings at that distant period. Owing to the degeneration of man, mortals are no longer able to converse with trees, although the latter can still understand our remarks. In a vague way, the Bella Coola continue to think of trees as having human personalities, but so little is known of their powers, and they enter so seldom into contact or conflict with mortals, that they are practically ignored.

In an equally vague manner, Nature is regarded as a
Mother, giving birth to the trees and plants. One of the [535]
kusiut dances portrays this birth of the flowers every spring [575]
(II, p. 196),

774 becomes critical. Only a shaman (I, p. 539) can return one, and
755 if he fails death always results. In some cases a spirit leaves
[753] its owner without apparent reason; he becomes insane, tries
to eat dirt, and his relatives realize at once what is the matter.
[756] They summon a shaman who takes off his cape, hangs it like
a pouch on his stick, and points it in all directions as he sings
his shaman's song. Finally he locates what is missing, and
traps it in his cloak, which he places around the sick man.
This restores the element and the sufferer recovers immediately.
Another method is for the shaman to press the back
of the patient's neck, and by blowing and spitting cause the
wandering spirit to return. Either cure must be performed
by a shaman because of the supernatural power required.

774 Spirits can be extracted in various ways. Shamans can
draw one forth by sucking at the back of the neck between
their cupped hands; in former times, some were so powerful
that they could extract them by their mere presence. During
774 *kusiut* dances (II, chap. 1), the uninitiated are told that if they
●575 enter the house where a ceremony is taking place, or even pass
[535] on the sidewalk outside the door, their spirits will be drawn
from them by the power within and attracted to the dancer
or to the sacred platform on which he is concealed. Many
[178] stories are told of this, which were firmly believed by the uninitiated
until the last few years. Members of the society
claim that their great power acts as a magnet to the spirits of
all but their associates, except children in arms; the latter can
be taken by their mothers into the house, because their supernatural
elements have not developed sufficient strength to
774 leave their bodies. A person may also lose his spirit through
a sudden shock. If two people meet unexpectedly in the forest
and one of them shouts loudly at the other, even if only in fun,
the spasmodic contraction of the muscles is enough to expel it.
[761] The person to whom this happens falls down as if dead, and
[756] though he soon recovers, his spirit has left him, and if it is not
brought back by a shaman he dies a lingering death.

775 At death, the spirit permanently leaves the body. In some

below. These are termed tally posts." Each remained upright 773 as long as the individual to whom it referred was alive, 777 but fell at his death. Since that time, whenever *Älquntäm* lends to a mortal *sininits*, the undefined power that causes life, his supernatural artisans erect in the land above a tally post for the new-born infant, marked with the bird or animal used by an ancestor. As long as this remains upright and straight, firmly fixed to the ground, its owner continues to be strong and prosperous, and has success in all his undertakings; if it becomes loose, or is crooked, he ceases to succeed. Prosperity does not depend upon the activities of an individual, but upon his supernatural possessions, spirit, tally post, and a third to be described later. If the tally post tilts far from the [753] perpendicular, its owner becomes ill, and can be cured only by straightening it. [782] In some cases *Älquntäm* is kind enough to do this if placated by prayer and ceremonial chastity (I, p. 110), [755] and in olden days, shamans were occasionally able to penetrate to the land above for this purpose. Even when a post was reached, they were sometimes unable to set it upright, though they could always estimate the length of a man's life from its angle of inclination. In one of the *kusiut* dances, the per- [575] former pretends to have the ability to go aloft and the uninitiated are deceived by the erection of a tall ladder up which he climbs and disappears (II, p. 202). On his return, he reports the condition of the tally posts of various people. This performance serves to remind both members of the society and uninitiated of the existence of these supernatural elements, and of the dependence of individuals on them for success in life. In spite of this ritual, actual knowledge of the powers and functions of tally posts has been derived only from the first Bella Coola who, created in the land above, were acquainted with the mysteries of life and transmitted such lore to their descendants. One old man expressed the opinion

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[illegible] One of the names of *Nusmat·a*, *Nusqnatlnaista*, refers to these, meaning, "The Place of the Tally Posts." [illegible] and [illegible] are closely associated; sometimes the latter is pronounced [illegible], although this may be an error in recording.

Ceremonial chastity is considered almost a necessity to 831
hunters, and in former years a man would rarely, if ever, set 785
out to seek game without fortifying himself by at least several
days of continence followed by washing. In the few cases [224]
known of a female assuming the clothing and activities of a [783]
male, she has been forced to hire a man to sleep with her on [838]
the proper nights before starting to hunt. But hunters are by
no means the only ones to observe ceremonial chastity. If a
man wants to build a salmon-weir, it is by this means that he
makes himself strong enough to succeed; if he plays cards, [525]
good fortune is sought in the same fashion. The guests at a
potlatch observe ceremonial chastity so that their host may [431]
not forget them in his distribution of presents, the host, that his
guests may arrive on time. The *kusiut* dancer thus fortifies [575]
himself for the performance of a dangerous ritual. In this way [535]
a man experiences dreams foretelling the future. In every
desire or activity of life, ceremonial chastity is a potent means [787]
of success, not infallible, usually combined with prayer and in
many cases with sacrifice, but a background and accompani-
ment to every means of propitiation. If a man has conspicuous [777]
ill-luck, it is because he has failed to observe ceremonial
chastity; if he succeeds, it is because he has done so. At the
present time there is living in the Bella Coola valley an old
white man who for years has ranged the mountains in search
of gold; he has been unsuccessful, and the Bella Coola believe
that he will never succeed until he observes ceremonial chastity.

The strength which a man may acquire through the prac-
tice of this rite is almost limitless. A man may be ailing on [753]
account of the leaning of his tally post, but, if he energetically [777]
and faithfully observes chastity, it will become straightened,
whether automatically or through the agency of *Älquntäm* is [755]
uncertain. After the termination of a long period of contin-
ence, a man's spirit is so strong that his friends place their [774]
hands on the back of his neck in order to absorb some of the
power radiating from his spirit. Ancient myths record how [773]
the mere force engendered in a man's body by lengthy abstin-

as a man by the duly validated ownership of a chief's name in 262
her own right. Formerly a slave was never allowed to eat 574
seal, unless he had been the slayer. If many seals are killed, 622
chiefs from adjacent villages are sometimes invited. The chiefs
seat themselves according to their proper positions and are [562]
first served with the blood-stained grease that floats to the top [567]
of the water as the meat is boiling. When cooked, the meat is [628]
cut into strips, measured in terms of so many finger breadths,
according to the number of guests. The cuts run down each
fore-flipper, so that each receives a narrow strip including one [203]
of the toes. The head is always given to the herald.[3]

Wealthy chiefs frequently invite their fellows to ordinary
meals even when no seal or deer has been killed. On these
occasions, as at seal feasts, the guests are designated by their [551]
ancestral names, not by those in general use.

Chiefs are also accustomed to meet for the discussion of 575 ●
matters connected with the winter ceremonial; on such occa- 622
sions their number may be augmented by men of influence in
the secret society, though they do not rank as chiefs. Such a 623
meeting is always called when a new member is to be initiated into the *kusiut* society. If there is difference of opinion the influence of even a *numitl* chief is outweighed by a man of importance in the society. The matter is discussed by all present and a decision reached by general agreement. It is difficult for a white man to understand how such is possible without either a vote, or general recognition by all that the views of some individual must be accepted. The writer was present at one such meeting, and was struck by the manner in which, after considerable, and at times heated, discussion, a consensus of opinion was reached, and accepted even by those who had proposed a contrary course.

Near every village is a place where the chiefs hold such [778]
meetings. All the inhabitants know the general locality, but

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[3] Every effort was made to ensure the accuracy of this account, but errors may [114]
have crept in on account of the length of time which has elapsed since the ceremony
was carried out in full detail.

622 there is such dread of the supernatural powers possessed by
623 members of the *kusiut* society that none would dare go there.
778 If an uninitiated person should do so, he would formerly have
been either killed or initiated into the society. The meeting-place
[575] of the *Q̣omqo·ts* chiefs is on a ledge of rock jutting out
over a waterfall about a quarter of a mile from the village.
The stream winds down a narrow cleft of the mountain side,
screened by dense vegetation, and suddenly falls into a cauldron,
so hemmed in by cliffs that no sunlight can enter. The
ledge is immediately above the brink of the falls, one of the
most awe-inspiring places imaginable. The meeting-places of
other villages lack such natural settings, though all are at the
bases of cliffs, or near some easily distinguished feature. Some
178 of them are decorated with rude carvings, pecked into the
532 stone. The meaning of the designs is not known to any of
778 the present inhabitants. Some of them were made, long ago,
by chiefs when they were composing tunes; they picked out
the rock in time to the music forming in their minds. Others
[211] were mere memorials of certain events. If a chief gave an
important ceremony, he, or one of his friends, carved a figure,
perhaps that of a man, perhaps of some animal connected with
the rite, to recall the occasion. No carvings have been made
within the life-time of any Bella Coola, so it is probable that
they had further significance, now unknown.

622 When a chief wishes to summon his fellows for a meeting
623 he visits each and notifies him by a simple pressure of the foot,
in many cases unobserved even by those sitting near. The
201 person so called slips away, unostentatiously, to the meeting-place.

578 The position of chief was not without disadvantages in the
old days. The Bella Coola are so jealous that anyone who
622 succeeded in elevating himself to a position above his fellows
682 became an object of envy. Their mythology contains many
[152] examples of the murder of some powerful chief by rivals of his
own village, and informants of today state that these records
are true. One intelligent man asserted that his father had

184 standardized. Boys and girls helped their parents, and there
476 was no definite age at which they ceased to do so. The fluidity
*556 of the Bella Coola system was contrary to any standardization.
The more important a chief became, the more did he receive
from dependent relatives, but the more did they expect in the
way of "return presents." It was advantageous to be generous,
within the family circle as well as without, since life was so
public that every transaction even of a "private" nature, was
well known. Unquestionably, a greedy and strong-minded
individual must frequently have taken advantage of help from
his housemates, but there was no strict code of ethics in regard
to this. In brief, it may be said that the acquisition of wealth
was an unstandardized, individual, matter; its distribution
was likewise according to individual volition, although within
a rigidly defined tribal pattern.

Sisaok SOCIETY

551 The ancestral names that chiefs desire to raise to a position
*556 of eminence are usually embodied in myths dealing with the
first settlement of this earth, names which belong, as has been
●575 stated, to the ancestral family. Many of these traditions
614 record other designations as well, each of which carries with it
[535] the prerogative of performing a type of dance known as *sisaok*.
These will be spoken of, henceforth, as *sisaok* names. The
Bella Coola do not know the meaning of this term. These
[553] names, like ancestral ones, are the potential property of members
of the ancestral family, but can only be assumed when
duly validated by presents. Such an assumption follows a
553 period of seclusion in the back-room of the house. Both men
*556 and women are eligible. A person may be secluded in this way
575 a number of times, acquiring a new *sisaok* name on each occasion,
[562] but as presents must be distributed every time, it follows
that only the children or relatives of wealthy chiefs can be so
favoured. It is desirable to have the bestowal of a *sisaok* name
occur at a potlatch, since guests from foreign tribes are then

present, and the fame of the initiate is thereby carried farther 553
afield than would be possible if only Bella Coola were in atten- 556*
dance. Every individual duly secluded and given a *sisaok* 575 ●
name feels himself ceremonially allied to others who have had
a similar experience, and they form a grouping which may be
termed the *sisaok* secret society.

The close connection between this society and chiefs is 575
obvious from the presence of names of each type in the same 622
ancestral myths. None the less, every chief, that is a person
with duly validated ancestral name and seat, is not a *sisaok*, [553]
unless he has validated a *sisaok* name for himself and undergone
the period of seclusion. Conversely, a man may be a duly
authorized member of the *sisaok* although lacking a seat and
the other marks of chieftainship. The relationship is, however,
so close that the Bella Coola think of the *sisaok* society as a
society of chiefs. *Sisaok* dances take place at potlatches and [535]
funerals, and occasionally at gatherings of less importance.
Difficulties arise at the death of a chief who has failed to use [766]
some of his goods for the acquisition of a *sisaok* name. Such a
case took place at the death of an important Bella Coola in
the summer of 1923. Theoretically, he was ignorant of *sisaok* [183]
rites, but after much discussion these were used on account of
his importance as a *numitl* chief, an instance of the manner in
which a man's personal importance over-rules ceremonial
dictates.

The Bella Coola believe that only some of their *sisaok* 424
name-prerogatives came to this earth at the beginning of time
with their first ancestors, and that many more have been ac- 551
quired later by supernatural experiences. These were especially 575
common among their forbears as they ranged over this earth 773
seeking places to settle in the beginning of time. No *sisaok*
name can be assumed casually; each must have had a
specific origin. There are few *sisaok* origin myths, though
theoretically there should be one to account for every name.
The explanation appears to lie in the undoubted fact that many [177]
sisaok prerogatives have been acquired comparatively recently

177 from the Bella Bella, a fact emphasized by all. It is not diffi-
424 cult to understand, therefore, why elaborate myths are lacking,
even if such were possessed by the Bella Bella. The Bella
551 Coola possessed certain similar rites to which the Bella Bella
●575 prerogatives were in the process of being grafted at the time
[773] of the coming of the white man. There has since been general
decay of ceremonial life, with the result that the whole situa-
tion is in a state of flux presenting great difficulties to the
investigator.

428 *Susaok* names are willed and inherited in the manner already
described for other prerogatives. The type of dance, and the
551 time of use, will be described in the following section of this
575 chapter.

THE POTLATCH

*556 It is unfortunate that an adequate treatment of Rank
128 among the Bella Coola requires a description of the potlatch
since this ceremony, or rather group of ceremonies, includes a number of features which, logically, should have been postponed until a later stage of this monograph. An effort has been made to lessen references to non-ritualistic features by the description, just given, of the basic concepts of chieftainship and the *susaok* society. Other ideas will require rather lengthy digressions, a method of presentation which seems preferable to the use of many foot-notes, its only alternative.

GENERAL OBSERVATIONS

104 In scientific and popular writings alike, the term "pot-
*556 latch" has been applied both to the public giving of presents,
[431] and to the rites at which this occurs. But among the Bella
Coola, such distribution of gifts is necessary at every ceremonial; accordingly, each is essentially a potlatch. There is one, however, which the inhabitants regard as the most important of all, the goal which every ambitious man aims to reach, the rite in which his ancestral myth can be displayed. In this

* 556 Although guests from different tribes are sometimes invited
574 to other ceremonials, it is at potlatches that they are essential.
Since the validity of such transactions as marriages, divorces,
[203] or the assumption of professional prerogatives depends on the
presence of witnesses, and since the importance of such a rite
depends on the number of witnesses, a man is always eager to
carry out any public performance at a potlatch when he is sure
of the attention of foreigners, and the consequent wider dif-
fusion of knowledge of what he has done. The man who has
invited guests is usually willing to allow others to perform at
his potlatch, since it increases the complexity and importance
[184] of the affair. It follows that no two potlatches are alike; one
will contain features entirely lacking in another. Moreover,
the wealth of the donor determines how many rites he himself
will cause to be performed. The fundamental concept of the
potlatch is the inviting of guests from abroad to witness rites
[769] in connection with an ancestral myth, especially the return of
a recently deceased relative of the donor to visit the living.

* 556 At any important potlatch the following rites are carried
out, and in the account of the ritual it will be assumed that
796 these alone are taking place. If the reader bears this summary
in mind, he is less likely to be confused by the complication of
rites.

(1) The return of a dead ancestor to visit the living.

● [575] (2) The initiation of young men or women into the *sisaok*
society. This includes the validation of a *sisaok* name for each,
[553] and a period of seclusion in the back-room. The initiates may
either be relatives of the donor of the potlatch, or young persons
whose relatives are taking the opportunity to carry out the
rite in the presence of foreigners. Some of the initiates may
already be members of the society, undergoing a further period
of seclusion in order to increase their status by a further dis-
tribution of presents.

[554] (3) The payment by the wife of the donor and her family
[858] of goods to "rebuy" her from her husband. This is a legal
fiction, though necessary to maintain the status of the children.
[583]

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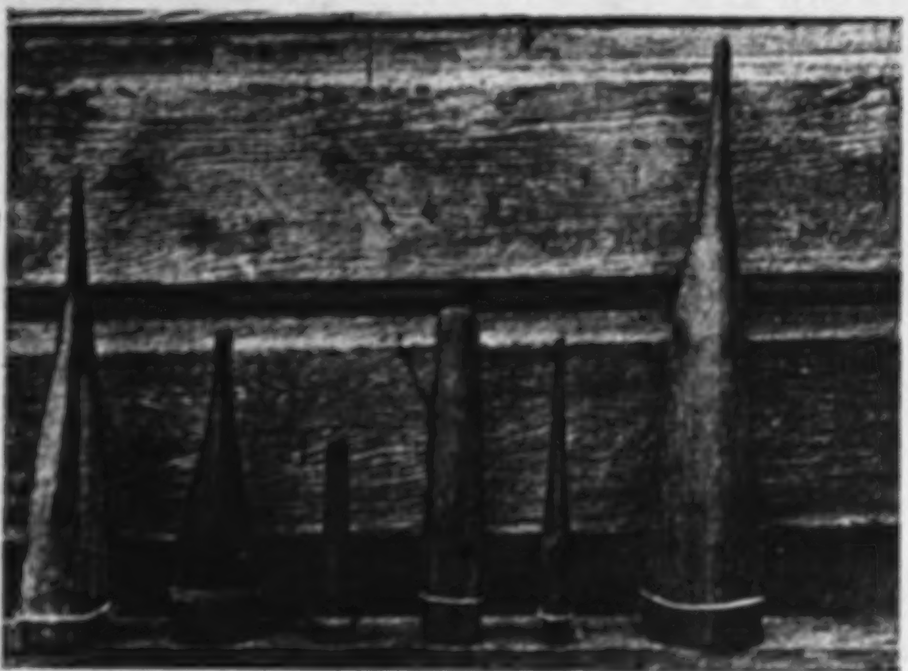
PLATE 12



Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Sisauk whistles

[p 186(0)]

Pre-
* 556 sently the guests assemble, those who are *sisaok* wearing on
[575] their heads one or more weasel skins as a mark of membership
237 in the society. Each takes the seat to which he is entitled,
the chiefs behind the fire, or on either side of it, the commoners,
292 slaves, and foreigners in the two corners nearest the door. The
554 heralds move to and fro between door and fire, their constant
exchange of remarks adding to the general interest of the affair.
It is the function of a herald to lend dignity to chiefs by
[203] the tone of his observations, but should one fail to live up to
his station, the herald is privileged to comment thereon. In
some respects his position approximates that of a buffoon, but
as a herald always receives valuable presents, the office is
sometimes accepted by ambitious young men, willing to undertake
the slightly derogatory duties in return for the substantial
gain.

264 A number of young lads, friends or relatives of X, distribute
the food. It is placed in boxes; an important chief is not called
* 556 upon to share with any one, whereas six or seven men of no
[883] standing may partake from one box. These receptacles, with
whatever food remains in them, are taken home by the guests;
otherwise the host would be insulted. Many boxes are lost in
[578] this way, a source of considerable irritation. After the first
course, a second follows, consisting of a different kind of food
in another box, and in some cases there is a third, and even a
fourth course. A chief must never appear stingy. The more
he gives, the more does his prestige increase. Also, a man who
gives freely receives abundantly, so that generosity brings its
589 reward.

* 556 Next, the father or other male relative of X's wife, or a
fluent friend who speaks for him, stands up and makes a speech,
[537] extolling the fame of his own family by sketching in general
[425] outlines one of the myths of his ancestors, and announcing that
X's wife is taking to her husband some portion of it. This may
[424] be the prerogative of using a spoon carved, for example, with
the shape of a beaver; or a carved box, or a totem-pole with
[532] certain figures on it, or the right to use a painting of a grizzly
bear on the wall of his house, or an ancestral
name.

are built. The central fire is laid in the bottom of the pit, a 342
few feet above that is the platform where the guests are seated, 424
and the ground-level is a few feet above that again. A few 556*
instances are remembered of houses having been built with
two, and even three, of these tiers, or platforms. In those [177]
cases it appears certain that this type of construction was embodied in a myth derived from Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people, where, according to the Bella Coola, large houses, of five or six tiers, were not unknown.

X uses his own discretion in choosing his workmen,[1] avoid- 335
ing only his own relatives and those of his wife. The question 556*
of pay is never broached, but it is understood that X will 465
recompense those who have worked for him. The scale on which he does so will depend entirely on his generosity. This is one of the ways in which a chief helps the poor people of his village. More food is distributed to "sharpen the wedges."

While a man is engaged on his allotted task any food or other articles which he or his family may obtain belongs to X. If a man who hews the planks takes his wife with him and she chances to pick berries while he is at work, these must be given to X who will distribute them with his other food at the potlatch, and it will be announced from whom he has received them. If a man's friends should help him to complete his task and then all go hunting, any skins acquired will belong to X; but when he repays his indebtedness he is expected to reward the worker, not only for his carpentry, but also for the berries or pelts. As X must give lavishly to prove his chieflike generosity, the collection of foods or skins by his workmen is profitable for them.

The guests have been passing in and out of X's house all 552*
day and towards dusk all again assemble within. Suddenly
the door is burst open by a number of young men carrying a
large log, like a battering-ram. The majority of the bearers [575]●
are *sisaok*, though they may obtain assistance from those who are not members of the society. The people within the house spring up to eject the ram, and a sham battle ensues. Back-

[1] [ie. to build a new house for a potlatch.
-ANALYST]

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

§ 556 wards and forwards away the contestants with shouting and merriment, and those who have failed to carry away their boxes of food hasten to remove them out of the danger zone. It is a time of licence, and even one of the most influential chiefs may be struck by the ram or his food scattered without consideration. The ram is driven back, but those who bear it steer the log so that instead of passing out through the door it strikes the front wall, shattering some of the boards with their old paintings. With a shout they drive forwards again until part of the wall at the back of the house is likewise destroyed. Then those within the house gain the mastery and the log is carried outside, dragging its struggling bearers with it. They drop the log and return inside as if nothing untoward had occurred. This destruction of the house walls is a necessary preparation for their replacement with new paintings on new boards. When quiet has been restored a herald stands up.

"Listen!" he cries. "Ye chiefs, ye wives of chiefs, and ye commoners, soon we shall hear the supernatural beings."

533 535 ●575 § 556 Then the singers[*] beat out the tune of any *kusiut*. He whose song it is begins to dance, using the type of which he has the prerogative, but as the supernatural being with whom he has a ceremonial affinity is not present, the dance is not considered sacred. As soon as one *kusiut* has finished, the tune of another is beaten, and he too dances. The singers change from *kusiut* to *kusiut*, and please themselves about the order in which they shall dance, also about how many shall perform. This continues until late in the night. Then they beat out a *sisaok* tune and the member of that society to whom it belongs performs his dance, a non-sacred affair, like those of the *kusiut*. One after another dances as his or her tune is beaten out, until dawn approaches. Meanwhile several *sisaok* have been sent outside 800

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[104] [*] Henceforth in this monograph the term "singer" will be used as a translation of the Bella Coola word, [illegible]. The singers sit together behind the fire. It is their duty to remember the tune and text of every song, to beat out this tune for every dancer and to accompany him by singing the words of his song.

I:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

with a number of the large cone-shaped whistles used for *sisauk* ceremonial. Towards dawn, sounds come from these, and sometimes a dull thump is heard on the roof, as if a heavy being had landed there. At once there is great excitement within the house. The voices of supernatural people prove them to be at hand. No one is allowed to leave except a *sisauk siki*[9] who is skilled in dealing with *Malakila*,[10] also called *Sisiaqutnam*, the supernatural being closely connected with the *sisauk* ritual. Those within can hear the voice of the *siki* raised as if he were speaking to someone at a distance. 533 575 ● 556* [781] [776]

"Chief, you have come too early," he says. "The house is not yet ready. Please return later."

He is answered by loud whistling, which grows fainter, as if the being who made it were moving away. In reality the young men are merely blowing less forcibly into the whistles.

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[9] The accounts of all informants agree that much of the *sisauk* ritual was newly imported into Bella Coola from Bella Bella. According to some statements, *Potlo*, a Bella Coola chief who died between 1870 and 1880, married a Bella Bella wife, also one from Rivers Inlet, and it was these two women who brought with them as dower certain *sisauk* prerogatives. It is said that previous to that time the Bella Coola did not understand the use of the large cone-shaped whistles, nor were they able to summon the supernatural beings to the youths secluded in the back-room, nor to dispel the beings at the conclusion of the rites. On the other hand, some Bella Coola claim that their first ancestors brought the whistles with them from the land above. It is probable that the calling in of the supernatural beings is a recent addition to the potlatch, which accounts for the contradictory accounts, but whether or not the whistles are a new feature is more doubtful. It appears certain that the prerogative of *siki* has recently been obtained from the Bella Bella. *Siki* means "the one who cures," and the name is given to the man whose prerogative it is to tend the *kusiut* initiates in whom supernatural powers are located. In Bella Bella there is a similar functionary for *sisauk* matters, known as a *hai-alikila*. Through intermarriage several Bella Coola have recently obtained this prerogative; in each case it is frankly stated that it has been derived from the Bella Bella. The Bella Coola apply to them, as [illegible], the term *siki*, as they do for the *kusiut* "curer," though the Bella Bella name, *hai-alikila*, is used with equal frequency. The present *siki* have endeavoured to claim for themselves certain ceremonial functions formerly carried out by any *sisauk*. In this account of a potlatch it is assumed that a *siki* is functioning on all occasions, but in many cases any senior *sisauk* is considered sufficiently close to the supernatural beings to act satisfactorily. Until about 1870 it is clear that any *sisauk* was regarded as capable of doing so. 177 424 533 575 556* [425] [583] [563] [791]

[10] Knowledge of this being is said to have been acquired by the marriage of a certain *[illegible]* of Kimsquit to a Bella Bella woman in the beginning of time. [177]

* 556 [575] [781] The *siki* returns to the house and tells the guests that *Mdlakila* has indeed been near and has promised to return later on. Those who are not *susak*, being steeped in the belief concerning the omnipresence of supernatural beings and ignorant of the carefully concealed whistles, readily credit the tale that they have heard the voice of a denizen of the land above, whose language is intelligible to the *siki*. Thus is the supernatural element of the potlatch first called forth.

After a final distribution of food, the guests return to their homes.

THE INITIATION OF *Susak* NEOPHYTES

*556 575 [609] At a potlatch valuable presents are given to the foreign guests, but it is unthinkable for the donor to give to his fellow-villagers. Accordingly, if X desires to display his generosity towards them, he does so at a preliminary ceremony, when he begins the initiation, or re-initiation, into the *susak* society of any number of young people. After elaborate counting and re-counting of his goods, both those actually stored in his house and those promised,[19] X decides that he has sufficient to initiate, for example, seven neophytes. His first choice will be his own children, failing those, the sons and daughters of a brother or sister, or of his wife's relatives, or, if none of these are available, those of a friend. X does not gain any pecuniary advantage from such a transaction, in fact he loses, but the prestige attached outweighs this consideration.

"Is it not the privilege of a chief to be generous?" say the Bella Coola.

He approaches the parents of those whom he has selected, always members of old-established families. As it is to the [553] social advantage of a young person to be a *susak*, a father usually tells X a *susak* name, dormant in his family, which he wishes to have conferred on his son, and how much he is willing to contribute for the purpose. In many cases, a man will

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[426] [19] In spite of the care exercised, mistakes are frequent, giving rise to hurried borrowings from friends to make up the necessary amount.

request X to have his son initiated, promising him financial 556* assistance. 575●

These preliminaries have probably been commenced before *xläxtnm*; at any rate they are completed as soon as possible, so that a few nights later X is able to instruct a herald to invite the *susaok* to his house. The singers are in attendance. The father, or other relative, of one of those about to be received [537] into the ranks of the *susaok*, expounds in general terms the ancestral myth containing the name to be conferred, or will ask a fluent speaker to deputize for him. Another follows, until myths have been recited for all. The singers listen atten- 533 tively, knowing that without further instruction they are expected to compose two songs for each person, embodying a 556* few salient points in the myth, without exposing the details. 575 In point of fact, the singers have probably heard the myth on previous occasions. After a distribution of food, provided by X, the people disperse.

For several days the singers work at the songs. The principles governing their composition are identical for all types. At night, as he walks in the forest, or at any other time, a singer constantly tries to compose a tune. Others do the same, and at intervals they meet, either in some lonely spot or in the back-room of a house. Each singer who has composed a tune beats out its time, humming as he does so; then another gives his tune, and perhaps a third. After much discussion, which in some cases becomes acrimonious, it is decided what two tunes are the best for so-and-so. Words are then supplied, a matter of less difficulty, all the singers assisting. In this way the fourteen songs required are provided. When ready, one of the singers informs X of the fact.

X decides that on a certain night two of the initiates shall begin a period of confinement in the back-room of his house. This information is passed round in secret by the *susaok*, and the initiate, whom it will be convenient to refer to as Y, is duly warned. At dusk a reliable *susaok* is sent out to the woods behind the village with one of the large cone-shaped whistles.

533 This is presently heard. Y may be in his own house, but at
once any number of *susaok* rush in and conduct him, concealed
*556 in their midst, to the back-room of X's dwelling. All the *susaok*
●575 of the village begin to gather there; those who are not members
of the society are also free to enter the main part of the
house, though they cannot take any part in the proceedings.
[781] They lurk near the door, watching with interest mixed with
fear, and ready to flee if the danger from supernatural beings
seems too acute.

After some delay, a whistle is heard at intervals, gradually
becoming louder as if the supernatural being, of which it is the
voice, were coming nearer. Presently it sounds immediately
outside the door, and a *siki* rushes forth. He returns in a
moment, followed, amid the breathless excitement of the uninitiated,
[532] by a figure masked as a bird or animal. The design
represents Y's crest, or some creature with which one of his
ancestors came in contact, and which is therefore regarded as
having the same sociological importance. A member of the
society has carved the mask, another wears it, but this the
uninitiated do not know.

[776] "It is a *tutwinam*,"[12] they gasp.

The figure crosses the house and bends down beside the
singers to whom it appears to be whispering. Presently they
begin, softly, to tap out a song in rapid time as if the supernatural
visitor had just taught it to them. It is divided into
two or three parts and the theme is taken from Y's ancestral
myth.[13] After two or three rehearsals, the singers beat out the
time more loudly and accompany it with their voices, while
[535] the masked figure dances. A number of older *susaok* accompany
the performer as he whirls around the house; it is pretended
that this is necessary to shield the spectators, though
the real function is to guide the dancer whose sight is handi-

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[12] Meaning, "What is displayed," or, "A materialization."

[13] If the neophyte is a son or other near relative of the chief who is giving the potlatch, the theme may consist of boasting references to the goods about to be distributed. This is customary for X himself if he performs as a *susaok* at the actual ceremony.

533
capped by the mask. If the *tutwinam* represents Wasp[14] or 556*
Grizzly Bear, he does not make a circuit and a fluent *sisaok*
explains that to do so would be unsafe owing to the ferocity 575
of these animals. When the song is ended, the figure passes [535]
into the back-room. After a short interval it reappears,
recrosses the house, and leaves by the front door, to the
accompaniment of increased whistling.

A few myths embody two *tutwinam*. In this case, a second figure presently enters and the same ritual is repeated for a second song. This usually differs, musically, from the first, being in three parts and with even more rapid time. More often, the second song is merely beaten out by the singers without the appearance of a *tutwinam* to supply an obvious source.

This is the normal, but not the only practice with regard 556*
to a *tutwinam*. In some cases the figure does not appear until 575
after the singing of the first song, and the uninitiated are told
that it has been attracted by the music. In this case it passes
into the back-room, later to reappear and leave by the front
door. An announcement is made that it has brought a strange
power, that Y has become peculiar, and that his name is now,
for example, *Qwaqwasila*. A herald bears this news through
the village. A second song is then sung in due course.

The *tutwinam* is difficult to classify among Bella Coola [776]
supernatural beings. It appears in the form of an ancestral
crest, but the *sisaok* do not seem to have taught the uninitiated
to regard it as Y's actual forefather. It remains as a supernatural embodiment of his crest, a materialization of an element of family history, and a motive for the use by Y of a mask representing the apparition. The uninitiated do not seek further; they have seen a wonderful sight and are content.

Several of the older *sisaok* stated that the *tutwinam* concept [177
was not indigenous to Bella Coola; it had been recently 776]
[773
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[14] None of the first people came to earth as Wasps, but several received so much help from these insects that they are regarded as crests by the descendants of those whom they assisted.

* 556 adopted, probably as a prerogative obtained through mar-
riage, from the Bella Bella or Rivers Inlet people. The diver-
● 575 sity in ritual supports this view. There was not sufficient
177 time for the procedure to become stabilized between the intro-
[776] duction of the concept and the dislocation of Bella Coola social
life through the influence of the white man. It is also possible
that the *tutwinam* was added to *susaok* rites from the older
a'alk society (I, p. 273).

532 Whatever may have been the history of the *tutwinam*, it
* 556 provides Y with a mask, or with two, if two figures have ap-
peared. He guards them jealously, though secretly, through-
575 out his life and uses them only on rare ceremonial occasions.
[769] It is one of these masks which will be brought out if one of his
family gives a dramatic representation of his return after death.
[428] A mask of this type is sometimes willed, but the legatee alters
the design before using it.

* 556 A short pause follows the singing of the second, or third,
song, during which some chief or chiefs may make a laudatory
575 speech concerning Y's family history. Then the singers again
[537] sing the first song, and *susaok* members of the audience join in.
[533] Similarly, the second song is practised. These two are sung,
time after time, until the *susaok* have thoroughly mastered
them. When the singers consider that this has been accomplished, they tell X, who communicates with the *susaok* man
outside who has the whistle, and again its eerie notes are heard.
[781] Some of the uninitiated, believing that the supernatural being
who gives potency to the ritual is at hand, hurriedly leave in
fear. At the same time some of the *susaok* conduct to the back-room the second initiate whose songs are to be sung that night. The procedure in his case is identical with that described for Y. Usually it is considered sufficient to seclude two on one night, though three may be attempted. When the songs of the last have been sung, food is distributed and the people disperse.

A few nights later the same ritual is repeated for two more initiates, who join their predecessors in the back-room. Here they spend their time in idleness, the only essential being the

preservation of an air of mystery by keeping out of sight of 556*
those who are not *susaok*. Food is brought to them, and mem- 575●
bers of the society are free to enter the room at any time. Some of the older ones enlighten Y and his fellows with regard to the secret rites, and especially to the human origin of the whistle. Proud of his new status, an initiate never dreams of transmitting this information to those who are not members of the society. As a privilege, the neophytes are sometimes allowed to go out at night, care being taken that no uninitiated person shall see them. The length of the period of confinement varies according to the number of young people to be admitted, and on the actual time of the potlatch; the minimum duration is about two weeks, the maximum, four months. Sometimes the tediousness is lightened by the arrival of carpenters who have chosen this secret place to work at the *susaok* masks.
After all the initiates have been confined to the back-room, X [533]
continues to invite people to his house at frequent intervals to practise their songs. On each occasion food is distributed, so that the meetings are expensive to the host, but no donor grumbles about it, as thereby he establishes his prestige as a chief.

THE VALIDATION OF *Susaok* NAMES

The next event is the validation of the initiates' *susaok* 553
names,[18] a ceremony termed *no'onätlum*. X, with the assis- 556*
tance of his family, piles on the floor of his house the goods
which he intends to use for this purpose. In the old days these 575
consisted of skins, blankets, food, baskets, boxes, slaves (symbolized by stones), canoes (symbolized by sticks), and so on.
Nowadays, money is used. Towards dusk a herald summons [203]
the people to X's house. For many years it has been customary to invite everyone, but it is said that long ago only [537]
the *susaok* would have been present. When all are seated,

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[18] Validation of the neophytes' names is essential at the potlatch itself, but chiefs endeavour to display their wealth and generosity to their fellow-villagers as well. Consequently, though donors are eager to perform this rite, it can be omitted entirely without affecting the potlatch.

553 without special places, X calls upon some eloquent friend to
*556 direct the distribution of the money. This speaker orates how
●575 X is carrying out the rites incumbent on his noble and exalted
[537] station, how all honour him for so doing, and how all should strive to follow his example. He then says that to give strength to the name *Qwaqwasila*, for example, X will give away, say $100. He further announces who have contributed this amount: perhaps $50 from X, and the other half from various relatives of Y. If the sum in question be large it is always mentioned from whom, and how the donor has obtained the money. Thus every financial transaction becomes publicly known, and the more prominently a man figures, the greater is his prestige. Next, the amount to be used for the second initiate's name is announced, with the same details, and in like fashion the sums decided upon for each successive initiate.

Then the total amount is distributed among the guests by the heralds, under X's supervision. He usually gives every-
[562] one the same amount; men sometimes receive more than women, but in every case members of the same sex receive an equal sum. The Bella Coola are not expert mathematicians,
[803] so that faulty division is the rule. If X, for example, decides to give $1.50 to each person present, it is a time of considerable anxiety while the stack of bills is being reduced, to watch whether or not there will be the exact amount. If X finds out
[426] he is short he will hastily borrow some money, as it would be
[578] an insult to omit anyone. If the amount be too great, he will use the surplus in making presents to the more influential guests.

With the exception of this possible surplus, the money distributed is regarded as an outright present; "it has flowed away to make good the boys' names" is the Bella Coola expression. A chief will remember how much he has received, and if he wishes to uphold or to increase his own dignity, he will make a point of returning at least an equivalent to X on some future occasion. But though in effect he may make return, such is never said to be the case. "The money has flowed away."

Poor people, white guests, or others from whom no return can 553
possibly be received, share equally in the distribution; the 556*
money goes to all to validate the transaction. On the other
hand, X expects that the presents, if any, made to a few individuals after the general distribution, will be returned with interest. In selecting the recipients of these he has been animated, first, by the necessity of repaying old debts, and secondly by his desire to make good investments in the shape of presents to those likely to show their chiefly nature by returning with heavy interest. No request is ever made for such repayment, but as the transaction has been publicly announced, a man fears to fail to repay, since that would lower his prestige. No one may refuse a present, no matter how embarrassing it may be. 575 ● [558]

After the gifts have been distributed the songs of the initiates are practised. Members of the *susaok* society join in with the singers; the other spectators listen attentively, full of interest, but take no part. X with his helpers then gives food to all, and they depart. [533]

Before the coming of the white man a potlatch was a rare event, and *susaok* members were initiated at local gatherings. The period of confinement was the same as that just described, but instead of merely practising the songs during the interval, the initiates appeared and danced to them. It will be convenient here to describe that ritual, emphasizing the fact that at a potlatch, when the initiates can be confirmed in the presence of foreign guests, this preliminary rite does not take place. 535 556* 575 177

After the distribution of goods the singers beat out[18] the tune of any one of the initiates, and all emerge in close succession from the back-room, each wearing a blanket, without distinctive design, a collar of dyed and pounded cedar-bark decorated with pendant weasel skins, and the distinctive *susaok* head-dress (see Plate 15).[1/A] This consists of a circlet of grizzly bear claws, surmounted in front by a small forehead mask; from the inner side of the circlet there rise a number of sea-lion 292 535 556* 575 237

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[18] The present tense is used for uniformity.

[1/A] [See cat. 116, facing p 218 - ANALYST]

292 whiskers over which is scattered eagle down. From the back
of the head-dress hang weasel skins. In Bella Bella it is said to
535 be customary for a skin to be added on every occasion when a
*556 *susaok* is confined to the back-room. This may happen as many
●575 as fifteen times to the child of wealthy parents, and a few Bella
Coola have adopted the practice of marking each with a skin.
[237] Usually, some six or nine are hung in two tiers, without consideration of the number of times the wearer has been in seclusion. The central figure of the forehead mask is a head with
[532] a hooked nose, the recurved hook being joined to the face
itself. This figure does not vary with the wearer's ancestral
myth, and no one knows what it represents. This design is
[177] said to have been introduced to Bella Coola from the north a
few generations ago; before that time the head-dress consisted
[237] of a circular band of dyed cedar-bark, decorated with the tail
[824] feathers of one of the large woodpeckers. The Bella Coola call
it simply, "forehead mask." Each initiate carries a hollow
[532] rattle, carved in the shape of a bird, which he holds in his right
[534] hand, belly uppermost. Long, long ago, when a dancer failed
to do so, the rattle became alive and the bird flew away; hence,
this rule has been obeyed ever since.

535 Each initiate takes up his station in some part of the house
*556 behind the fire and dances to the beating of the sticks. The
left hand of each is clasped behind his back and in his right he
575 holds the rattle and keeps it in constant motion by shaking his
wrist. Ability to do this is one of the marks of a good dancer. Keeping the body stiff and the legs close together, he rises with slight jumps, barely altering his position on the floor. Sometimes he slowly turns around sunwise[17] in his series of jumps, at other times he does not alter his position. The head is bent from side to side and downwards at each jump, causing the eagle down to fly in all directions. *Susaok* assistants blow more of the material on to the head-dress at intervals (see Plate 16).1/1

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[821]
[796]
[17] The Bella Coola believe that the sun moves from east to south to west to north. Many ceremonial movements follow this direction, which will henceforth be described as sunwise.

1/1 [See cat 116, facing p 219 - ANALYST]

As the dances proceed, those women who have the prerogative 535
for doing so, utter a peculiar droning cry. After dancing, the 556*
initiates return to the back-room, where they doff their attire. 575 ●
The ceremony concludes with the distribution of food. [424]

The initiates are now free to leave their place of concealment,
as each has become a legal member of the *susaok* society.
Some young men, sons of influential chiefs, are secluded a
number of times, others but once. The oftener a youth is
secluded, the greater is his prestige, because goods must be [554]
distributed on each occasion to validate his name. At the
present time, there is considerable uncertainty about the
exact details of the ceremony, for it has been so easy of late
years to give potlatches that the simpler rite has fallen into
disuse; some informants state that each initiate should emerge
alone and dance by himself. This concludes the shorter ceremony,
but with a potlatch the dancing is reserved until the
coming of the foreign guests.

DELIVERING OF INVITATIONS

Returning now to preparations for the true potlatch; it 556*
does not matter whether the ceremonies already described are
carried out before or after the departure of messengers to invite [203]
guests from abroad. Although X usually consults his relatives
and friends as to whom he shall invite, this is entirely optional.
In giving his invitations X is actuated, first, by a desire to
summon those from whom he has previously received hospitality;
having accepted presents from them he must discharge [558]
the obligations or sink in social estimation. Considerations of
friendship also enter into his selection, and he will likewise invite
anyone whom he wishes to put to shame by a lavish display
of wealth. It is taken as a matter of course that each guest will
be accompanied by a number of followers, members of his
family, slaves, or adherents.

Acting on X's instructions, a herald invites the people of
his village to X's house. X stands up and announces to them [203]
[484]

203 that he wants so-and-so, giving the name of a chief, to go, for
instance, to Bella Bella, to invite a certain person, whose name
*556 he gives, to the potlatch. X likewise names those whom he
484 wishes to form the escort. As a *susaok* whistle is used, it is
essential either that the chief himself be a senior *susaok*, or that
● [575] a *siki* go with him. It is immaterial whether or not all of the
crew are members of the society. Nobody is compelled to go,
but as all know it will be a matter of pride to X to recompense
them, none declines except for some strong reason. X names
those whom he wishes to proceed to other tribes, sending one
canoe to each group of towns. He arranges their departure
according to the distance each must travel, the aim being to
have all the guests arrive at Bella Coola at the same time.
X is expected to provide food for his guests as soon as they
arrive, and as the potlatch cannot start until all have assembled,
X tries to ensure simultaneous arrival, no easy matter
[648] since the area from which guests are invited extends from the
Nass River to Alert Bay.

The mysterious and sacred nature of the potlatch is impressed on the minds of the uninitiated at the time of departure. When the chief who is to bear the invitation, and the members of the crew are ready in the canoe at the beach, there is heard from X's house the sound of a whistle. The uninitiated, unaware of the method by which the noise is produced, consider it to be the voice of some supernatural being connected with the potlatch. Either the messenger himself, or some assistant with him, blows a whistle. This can be done without exposing the method by putting the whistle to the lips under cover of a large blanket. When this has sounded the canoe is free to proceed.

The messenger-chief carries with him his *susaok* mask,
which he dons if he sees another canoe approaching, while
[532] eagle down is scattered over the heads of the paddlers. These
two signs intimate that the occupants of the craft are on ceremonial
business, therefore must not be molested. For a con-
[726] siderable distance up and down the coast the sacred nature of

the potlatch is recognized to such an extent that an attack 203
upon envoys is unthinkable, though one or two myths recount 556*
how this unwritten law was violated on rare occasions. A [484]
canoe meeting potlatch messengers veers over to the other [726]
side of the channel to give them the right of way.

On reaching the destination the canoe is brought-to close to
shore until the inhabitants of the village have gathered on the
beach, which they swiftly do on the arrival of strangers. The [575]
messenger sounds his whistle, the significance of which is fully
understood by members of the *susaok* society. Any chief who
wishes to show his wealth and importance will invite them to
his house. As they are landing, he sends a herald to summon
a number of influential people of his village, who seat themselves in their rightful places. As the messengers enter they
are given seats on the bench behind the fire, the spot usually
reserved for chiefs. A number of lads are called in to toast [262]
smoked salmon, and when this has been done the fish are
broken into shreds by young girls and served to the messengers
on a mat, in lieu of a table-cloth. The envoys do not deliver
their message as soon as they arrive. On the contrary, they
spend the rest of the day aimlessly talking with their hosts,
and sleep in the house where they have been received.

The following day likewise passes without ceremony, but 203
towards nightfall the host summons all his fellow-villagers to 535
his house. The singers take up their customary places and
beat out a *kusiut* tune. Upon hearing his or her air, the owner 556*
of it starts to dance. Using their own discretion, the singers
beat out the tunes of *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each dances. In
like fashion the singers beat out *susaok* songs, and the owner
of each dances. Since the supernatural beings are not present,
the dances are merely of a ceremonial, not a sacred, nature.
When all have danced, each gives a present to the envoys.
These gifts are not returnable. They are merely "eagle down,"
but it is necessary that something be given to validate the
dances. The value is immaterial, so far as the purpose is concerned, though a chief who wishes to exhibit his chief-like

203 nature will try to bestow a valuable present. If a man is too
*556 poor to give anything, he can avoid the obligation by not
dancing when his tune is beaten out. The presents are piled
[535] together, and then the host, aided by several important chiefs,
[537] distributes them to the messengers, at the same time making
laudatory speeches. The chief of the envoys receives more
than the members of his crew.

Then the messenger-chief stands up and announces the names of those whom X has invited to his potlatch, using in each case the ancestral designation of the person summoned. Then the envoys, in a body, go to every house in the village. Probably all to be invited are present in the house of the chief, yet the messenger-chief must call out in the doorway of each house:

"Chief So-and-so, prepare your paddles and leave tomorrow."

Early next morning the messengers rouse those whom they
have invited and, as a mark of respect, help them to carry their
goods to the canoes. There is an attitude of shaming com-
[558] bined with that of deference, since those assisted will have
been placed under obligations. They also take to their canoes
their own recently acquired goods. Envoys and guests set out
together in their respective craft, and only separate as they
near Bella Coola.

ARRIVAL OF THE GUESTS

*556 While the canoes containing the first party of guests remain
●575 at anchor to wait for high tide, the envoys proceed at once to
X's house, now completely redecorated if not entirely rebuilt.
Here a huge fire is blazing, and members of the *sısaok* society
are passing in and out, making ready for the ceremony. Both
[302] men and women beautify themselves by painting their faces
in any designs they fancy, and by combing their hair and
placing eagle down upon it. The guests at anchor lay planks
[535] across their canoes so as to form a dancing platform. Then,
as the tide rises, the singers in the house beat out the tune of

one after another of the concealed initiates, while the audience, 535
consisting of *sısaok* alone, join in the singing. As the sounds 556*
drift out to the guests, they too beat out some of their well- 575●
known *sısaok* songs.

At high tide, as the canoes draw near, carefully guided by
poles and saddles, the *sısaok* troop down to the beach to meet
the guests, led by a *siki*, who alone wears an apron of puffin [292]
beaks and carries a rattle. The singers beat out one of his
tunes and the *siki* dances on the beach, while the supernatural
whistle which has been sounding from the back-room of X's
house, is now heard at his side, blown by an assistant under
cover of his blanket. After the *siki* has danced, the singers [533]
among the guests, and there are always enough of them to
make possible the beating out of the better known tunes, sing
one of their *siki*'s songs as he dances on the platform surmounting the canoes.

The Bella Coola *siki*, surrounded by a group of *sısaok*, now begins to turn about in a frenzied manner, always sunwise, bending down, then straightening himself, twisting and writhing like a maniac. Finally, standing erect, he pretends to throw something to the foreign *siki*, and then falls to the ground. The recipient makes the motion of catching something heavy, and at the same time one of his accomplices in the canoe sounds another *sısaok* whistle, deluding the uninitiated observers into the belief that some power has been transmitted, which is the source of the strange noise. The visiting *siki* revolves four times; twisting and bending, then straightens up and throws back his cloak, to expose a mask representing *Mulakila*. This has been concealed there all the time, but the uninitiated readily believe it to be the creature which has made the noise, or else that it is an object miraculously made by this being. The *siki* revolves four times more, with the mask in plain sight and the whistle constantly booming, while a fluent speaker "explains" the meaning of it all to the uninitiated who are watching with interest from the background.

535 * 556 575 The reception of this power from his Bella Coola confrère enables the guest *siki* to dance at X's potlatch, if he so desires. In that case the guests are guided to X's house without further delay. If, however, he does not wish to dance, he goes through the motions of throwing something back to the Bella Coola *siki*, who pretends to catch it. He bends down, twists himself about, then throws back his cape—to display there the representation of *Mulakila*. At the time of throwing, the visiting *siki* had slipped his mask out of sight, so that those witnessing the transaction, ignorant of the fact that the recipient has had an identical mask hidden beneath his cape throughout, are suitably impressed. He now revolves four times, while an assistant, sheltered under a large cloak, sounds the whistle constantly. Then the *siki* makes the motion of throwing something to X's house, and after that the whistle sounds from within, while the man who had been blowing one beside the *siki* ceases. Thus the uninitiated are led to believe that the voice can proceed only from the place where the power over which the *siki* has control is situated.

* 556 574 The guests are conducted to X's house, to which a number of young men carry their goods. A meal of toasted salmon, provided by X, is served to them by a number of youths, all of whom are eager to undertake this task throughout the ceremony. A section of the house is allotted to each party of guests, and within that space they arrange themselves according to convenience. Some informants state that the first group to arrive is seated nearest the fire. The whole of those invited are not placed according to rank. The amount of space allotted to each party of guests depends upon their number, and there is no particular choice made of a section in the house. X, or more often some one who speaks for him, welcomes the guests, and a spokesman from among them makes a suitable reply, usually with the assistance of an interpreter. After the meal, the guests can remain where they are or go out. As many as wish to do so stay in X's house, but many prefer to

go to the homes of their friends in the village; it is a matter of convenience, not of ritual. 556* [574]

In the evening, there may be no rite of any kind, but X often invites everyone to his house for the performance of non-ceremonial dances. The singers strike up one of his *susaok* or *a'alk* (I, p. 273) tunes and he dances to it. Then a tune belonging to one of his relatives is beaten out, and he too dances. After several have thus performed, a meal is served and all disperse. No supernatural beings are in attendance, hence there is no solemnity to the occasion; the evening's rites merely serve to show the guests the dances owned by their host and his family. 535 556*

As each party of guests arrives the same procedure is repeated. X provides food for those who have assembled from day to day, so he anxiously awaits the last-comers. When at last they come the guests from all other towns are in their allotted sections of X's house, and are free to make gibes at the tardiness of those latest in appearing. Occasionally, hard feelings are engendered in this way, although it is an established custom to mock at the last to arrive. They seat themselves and a small amount of food is given them. 556* 574 [628]

RITUAL CARRIED OUT BY THE GUESTS

Two youths, chosen by X for the purpose, sprinkle eagle down over the heads of all those present, as far as possible blowing it first over the chiefs. It serves as a token of goodwill, and marks also the ceremonial nature of the occasion. Then a leading *susaok*, perhaps a *siki*, stands up and says in effect: 556* [788] [237] [575] ●

"Thank you for coming. You are welcome. We thank you for coming to witness what X has done. He is delighted to have you here, because he has lost many of his relatives and wishes to perpetuate their memory. They would be grieved if he did not do so."

An elaborate meal is now served by a number of young men. [264]

* 552 214 [262] The first course is dried cohoe salmon mixed with olachen grease. The fish is first placed in boxes, approximately one to every four persons, though a chief may be honoured by an individual box, and the grease poured over it. As always, any food not consumed is carried away. Failure to do so would [578] be an insult to X. Then round wooden dishes are distributed into which are poured the berries of *Viburnum pauciflorum*. [262] The waiters pour olachen grease over these and the mixture is eaten with wooden spoons. These two foods are invariably the first meal of a potlatch.

* 552 ● 575 535 If the *siki* of the last guests to arrive has not returned the power given him by the Bella Coola expert, he now stands up and shakes his rattle as a signal that he desires to start his dance. The Bella Coola *siki* also stands up, and the visiting *siki* contorts himself and finally pretends to produce something from his stomach, which he throws across to his colleague. The latter feigns to catch it, cries *haip* loudly several times, and makes the motions of hurling what he has just received into the room at the back of the house where the initiates are concealed. Then he sits down. Meanwhile the last-to-arrive party of guests have started to beat out the tune of one of the *susaok*[18] songs of their own *siki* who dances in time to it. Then another song is beaten out and another member of the party dances, and so on until all have danced who desire to do so. Each wears his own head-dress and each performs in the manner already described. After the dancing, the members of this party of guests give presents to X and other Bella Coola chiefs. There is no fixed ratio between the value of the gifts *556 and the rank of the recipients, though chiefs receive more than [554] lesser men, and X most of all. These presents are *spuxdjut*, which may be translated as "eagle down-ness," merely a mark of friendship and goodwill. They are not returnable. Goods so received are distributed by X with his other possessions at [578] the potlatch, care being taken not to return them to the donors, which would be insulting.

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[18] *Xs·da* songs (I, p. 317) are sometimes used.

After bestowal of these presents, the *siki* of the penultimate 556 *
group of guests shakes his rattle, and exactly the same procedure is carried out by members of his party. They, too, give presents to X and the other Bella Coola chiefs. The same rites are carried out by each party of guests in the reverse order of their arrival. It is frequently near dawn before the first-comers have completed their dances and distribution of gifts. X then gives another meal to all, with no restriction on the choice of food. This concludes the night's ceremony, and the guests depart, except those who are staying in X's house.

THE POTLATCH: FIRST DAY

Considering the lengthy ceremonials of the preceding evening, it is not surprising that on this day no one stirs early. The guests receive their breakfast in the houses where they are accommodated, and meanwhile a number of young men gather in X's house to assist in the preparation of food for the main meal of the day. During the previous night a large [251]
amount of smoked mountain goat has been put in water to soak. This is now placed in a number of food-boxes, ready for [252]
distribution, water is added and hot stones lifted in to bring it to a boil. When the water comes to the boil, mountain goat grease is added, and then bearberries; it is usually about two o'clock in the afternoon before the meal is ready. The guests are summoned and the food given them, the chiefs, as usual, [554]
receiving more than those of lower rank. After eating they disperse to await the evening rites.

It was impossible to obtain an accurate account of the ritual carried out on the evening of this, the first day of the potlatch proper. The ceremonial was of less importance than [182]
those preceding and following, and it has long fallen into disuse. The guests take up their accustomed places, and the 556 *
Bella Coola members of the *sisaok* range themselves near them 575 ●
and behind the fire. The corners next the door are occupied [535]
by non-members of the society. The singers beat out two of

* 556 ● 575 [535] the best songs they have made for the initiates, and any of the *sisaok* members of the audience desiring to "help" the initiates dance to them, even X himself on occasion. By "help" no material aid is indicated; such dancing merely displays a friendly and sympathetic interest. The initiates, resplendent in *sisaok* head-dresses, appear at the door of the back-room, and sometimes dance a few steps. Occasionally, at the conclusion of his song, a lad's parents, or other relatives, bring forward the goods which will be later distributed by X to the guests. On other occasions, this is reserved for the following day. Food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: SECOND DAY

On this, one of the two most important days of the whole ceremony, the following rites take place.

During the Day

[553] (1) Communication to the foreign guests of the new *sisaok* names of the initiates concealed within the back-room; these names are the ones that have been made known to the Bella Coola before the potlatch proper.

(2) Payment to X by the members of his wife's family of the goods necessary to rebuy her from her husband.

During the Evening

(3) Repayment by X of debts owed to members of his own village.

(4) Return of a dead relative of X to visit the living.

(5) Distribution of presents to validate this appearance.

(6) In some cases, dancing by some of the *sisaok* initiates.

[575] [574] Early in the morning X gives each of his guests a wash-basin with the other necessary appurtenances for cleaning up, and towards noon all of those invited reassemble in his house. Three river canoes have been brought in and are ranged, two parallel to the side walls, and one parallel to the back wall, all far enough out to permit people to sit behind them. Boxes containing large quantities of red elderberries and olachen

grease have been placed in readiness. X selects as many 556*
youths as the number on whom he intends to confer the names 579
which have already been announced and validated among the
Bella Coola, but are now to be made known to the foreign 553
guests. He seats the lads, who are to substitute for the initiates, on the various boxes. Everybody understands that these are merely representatives. X requests two chiefs to act as his announcers, choosing two with good voices and abundant self-confidence. To one of these X whispers the sacred name of one of the initiates.

"His name is now——" calls out the announcer, pointing to one of the substitutes, and the listeners readily recognize the initiate intended, from the use, in conjunction with his new designation, of his well-known ancestral name. The heralds
repeat the new name with the usual badinage, so that it becomes well known to all present. [203]
In like manner the sacred name given to each initiate is publicly announced. The substitutes receive no advantage from their part in the proceedings.

Then the boxes are opened and red elderberries poured into 556*
the canoes in front of the guests. Stones are provided with
which the visitors pound the fruit into pulp which they pro- 324
ceed to mix with their hands, as olachen grease and cranberries [252]
are added. Then X's helpers distribute spoons and the feast commences. All start to eat, but after an interval one of the leading Bella Coola chiefs strikes the side of his canoe with a
spoon, as a signal that all must stop. X has several dishes in [415]
readiness. If he is wealthy some of these will be carved in the
shape of beaver, eagle, or other form in which an ancestor [539]
appeared. These dishes are filled with the food which all have been eating and then placed before the principal chiefs, who thus have a second supply. At this point the singers begin to 539
beat out an ancient song of the type known as *sn'ds*. Each
of these has been handed down from the distant past, when 556*
some chief, ancestor of X, had it composed for himself at a
potlatch. The theme is always about the form or fame of his [171]

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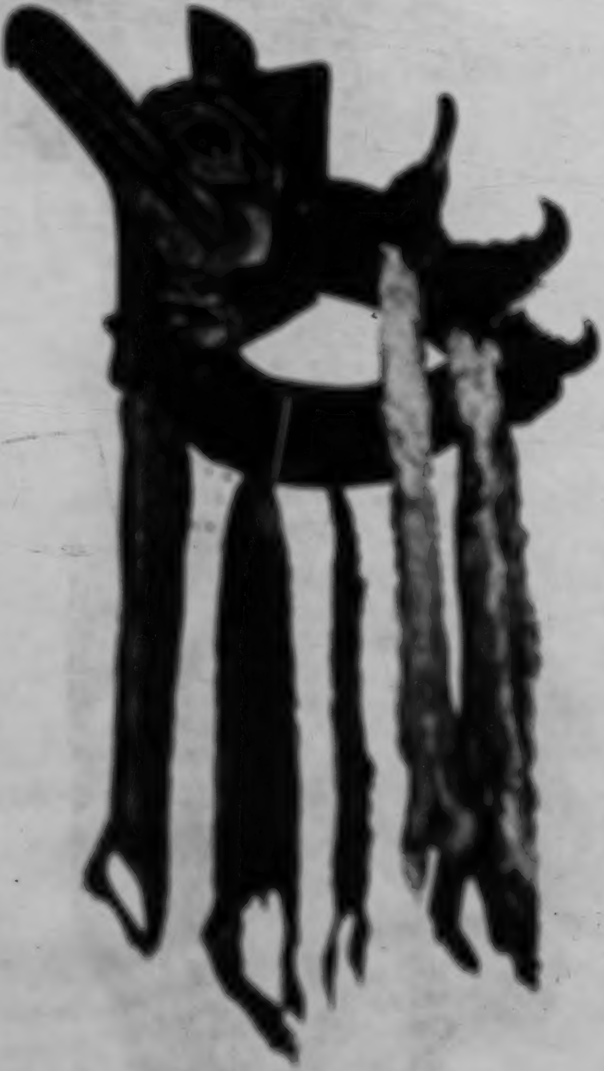
PLATE 11



[illegible]

[facing p.218]

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

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PLATE 16

Photograph by H. I. Smith, National Museum of Canada

Eagle down being blown over a novice dancer

[facing P219]

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184 ings to reward carpenters and others who had helped X prepare for his potlatch, but in Bella Coola this was usually done the following night.

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[538] Now comes what the Bella Coola regard as the most important feature of the potlatch.[illegible] The singers strike up one of the songs of a senior *kusiut*, perhaps a *siki* chosen for his skill in acting. As he dances, clad in his ceremonial costume and head-dress, whistling is heard without the house. A number of *kusiut* are making the noise and they modulate it so that it appears to draw nearer and nearer. This is effected either with whistles of different sizes or by blowing harder. The dancer rushes out of the house. The whistling continues in a series of short bursts, as if a conversation were being carried on in that language. The *kusiut* or *siki* returns, and the audience, silenced by the mystery of the affair, listens to his explanation:

"It is so-and-so," he announces, using the ancestral name of one of X's deceased relatives. "The crest has come to pay his son [or whatever relation X may be to him] a visit. I will bring him in."

While he speaks, continuous whistling is heard from without, but when he leaves the house it once more takes on the form of a dialogue. Presently he returns, followed by a masked figure in the centre of a group of members of the *kusiut* society. [532] If the deceased's first ancestor had been an eagle, in that guise the figure will appear—an eagle mask on his head, and his whole body, except perhaps the feet, covered by a large blanket thickly covered with eagle down and furnished with painted wooden wings. The dancer is usually entirely blinded by this costume, but he is guided by a number of the *kusiut* whose presence is attributed to the necessity for guarding and paying honour to the supernatural visitor. Among those who accompany him there is always a man with a whistle, the note of [538] which simulates the cry of an eagle, and this is sounded at intervals. The actor bends in imitation of a bird and shakes [532] himself, lifting his head and opening the movable beak by

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[illegible] Though potlatches can be held without this feature.

means of a hidden string, while the whistle sounds. Then he 556*
stoops down and hops a few steps eagle fashion. Slowly, with 769
pauses and turnings around, the figure circles the fire and
retires through the front door; always attended by a number 535
of *susaok*. The actor displays considerable dramatic ability, 575
and the performance is strikingly effective in the large, plank-
built house, illumined only by a smoky central fire which [532]
casts flickering shadows over the intently watching audience.
The dogs, alone unimpressed by the solemnity of the occasion,
skulk to and fro.

If a whale is represented, a large wooden frame-work is
carried by several men who walk inside of it. Raven, bear, or [532]
other animals may also be used, according to the ancestral
myth of the deceased. Some of the first people came to this
earth as men, but there have always been a sufficient number
of intermarriages to permit everyone to portray some bird or
beast, obtained from the family into which an ancestor married.
A supernatural object claimed to have been seen by a
forefather can also be used on these occasions. In some cases
a composite figure is used. Such may have the head of an
eagle, a killer whale projecting from the back, and a raven on [532]
its chest. In such a case those three creatures have been
connected with the ancestry of the deceased, and his spirit is
believed to have assumed those forms. Great individual choice [184]
is allowed in such matters.

If several of X's deceased relatives are being commemorated, the sound of whistling is again heard from without, a short time after the departure of the first masked figure. A senior *susaok* goes out, and the same ritual is repeated. This time the masked actor represents some other bird or animal. Three, or in some cases four, dead people are thus shown, though one is more customary. The actual management of the figures is left to the direction of the carpenters who have made them. Often a foreign workman is employed, as a mark of respect for his skill. In spite of all precautions there are often delays about the final preparations, especially with regard

556 to a complicated figure such as a whale, and in that case an
769 expert dancer among the guests is called upon to perform. It
is announced that this is, "to make clean the road for the
[575] dead."
[535] After each masked figure has disappeared, the sound of whistling from without grows gradually weaker, as the apparition returns whence it came. In solemn silence X takes a copper[21] which he has had in readiness, breaks it across his knee,[22] and throws it either into the fire or down on the ground in the track that the figure has taken. Then the announcer calls out loudly:

"It is for his crest.[23] It has 'made bone for the dead.'" Then he continues, speaking for X and using the first person:

"My heart is glad at seeing my father.[24] At death he returned back on the path of my family's ancestors and donned our ancient crest. He now lives in *Nusmät·a*, whence he came to visit us and whither he has now gone back."

The significance of the throwing down of a copper is en-
[178] tirely unknown to the modern Bella Coola, although they still
perform the ritual. In some vague way it is felt that "bone," which may imply *stability*, has been provided for the deceased. The act thus appears in the light of an offering to the dead, but this sentiment is not clearly appreciated by the participants in the rite; the present has been made *for*, rather than *to*, the one being mourned.

The copper, now valueless, is picked up by any chief and given to a poor man.

After a short interval a number of youths begin to distri-
[562] bute presents, provided by X, which have been placed in readiness. Gifts of equal value are given to all foreign male guests;
[431] while the women receive ones less valuable. These presents

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[325] [21] One of the plaques of native copper, such as were formerly beaten out cold and used as tokens of value by the coast tribes of British Columbia. Their employ-
[436] ment by the Bella Coola will be described latpr in greater detail (I, p. 252).

[22] The breaking is sometimes omitted.

[23] That is: "For the dead man, now in form of his crest."

[24] Or whatever relative the deceased may have been.

are strictly non-returnable, being regarded as "eagle down,"[22] 556* and having, therefore, a ceremonial significance. They validate [769] and mark the importance of the representation just displayed. [431] They are spoken of as having been shaken off by the deceased as he departed to return to his home above.

If there are many *susaok* initiates concealed within the [575]● back-room, some of them may now be called upon to dance, [535] but usually this is reserved for the following night. Unless some of those secluded are going to dance, food is distributed and all disperse.

THE POTLATCH: THIRD DAY

This is the day when presents are given and, with the previous, is the most important of the whole ceremonial. The following are its features.

During the Day

(1) Distribution of much food, and sometimes of insults to [578] the guests by excessive presents, or by the destruction of valuables.

During the Evening and Night

(2) Dramatic representation of some object connected with X's ancestral myth.

(3) Distribution of presents by X to recompense the craftsmen who have assisted in the potlatch.

(4) Repayments by X of gifts received at previous potlatches.

(5) Giving of presents by X to some of his guests.

(6) Distribution of presents to strengthen X's seat.

(7) Distribution of presents to strengthen, or establish, seats for a number of young men.

(8) Dancing of the *susaok* initiates. 556*

(9) Distribution of presents to recompense those who have 575 assisted the *susaok* dancers.

(10) Distribution of presents to validate the *susaok* dances and the names thereby acquired by the initiates.

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[22] The Bella Coola state that the Kwakiutl term for this is *asas* or *gasa*.

*556 (11) Dismissal of the supernatural power possessed by the
[575] *susaok* initiates, thereby enabling them to return to normal life in the community.

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All day, food is being distributed in X's house with guests in almost constant attendance. Not only are large presents of food made to any chief who has previously shown generosity to X, but he also takes this opportunity to bestow insults on anyone from whom he has received the same. Among the Bella Bella and people of Rivers Inlet guests were frequently ridiculed with respect to their habitual diet or mode of life. Unquestionably, the Bella Coola sometimes did likewise, both at potlatches and at *kusiut* rites to which strangers were invited. Although it is dangerous to dogmatize on this point, because the practice has long since fallen into disuse, it appears highly probable that mockeries were less prevalent in Bella Coola than at other places on the coast.

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It is comparatively common, however, for a chief to shame a guest by a lavish disregard for valuables. News is constantly passing from town to town, so that the intended victim usually hears what is in store for him. A guest always takes valuable goods with him when he goes to a potlatch, but one who expects to be insulted takes care to have an unusually large supply. The host seats this particular visitor close to the fire, and during the afternoon or early evening he throws large quantities of grease and food upon it, to demonstrate "the warmth" and "fineness" of his house. The guest experiences physical discomfort from the extreme heat, and suffers mental pangs at having a rival boast of his power and fame. To assert his own importance he will throw goods on the fire, as if they were water to extinguish it, and the host will counter by throwing on more valuables. The contest is continued until the goods of the guest are exhausted, or the host fears to burn more lest he should not have enough left to validate the potlatch. He who has destroyed most is considered to have shown his superiority. The Bella Coola state that such rivalry was unknown
[578] between chiefs of the same village.

success, according to the Bella Coola, depends upon the goods expended in their establishment (I, p. 261). 556* [463]

Throughout all this ceremonial the initiates have been carefully concealed in the back-room. They are now eagerly, though with trepidation, awaiting their time to dance. The order of appearance is a matter of no importance. It is arranged by the singers, who send word to one of the initiates and then begin to beat out one of his songs. He emerges, clad in a ceremonial blanket, wearing a *susaok* head-dress, and holding a rattle in his hand. Taking up his station behind the fire he dances in time to the beating of sticks. As he does so, the speaker calls upon X's wife to bring forward goods as "cedar-bark mats for him to stand upon," or "cedar-bark mats to make soft his seat." These are piled at some convenient spot. After dancing, the initiate retires to the back-room, accompanied by one of the older members of the *susaok* society, perhaps a *siki*. This man presently emerges, saying: 556* 575 535

"It is most peculiar. An eagle is there now."[20]

At the same time a whistle sounds from the back-room, in imitation of the scream of an eagle.

There ensues a constant interplay of remarks between the heralds and those regulating the ceremony. One of the former may call out:

"Let us see it."

The elder returns to the back-room, saying, "I will bring it out."

There now emerges a figure masked to represent an eagle, or whatever bird or animal it may be, with a long blanket covering all but the feet. Any clever dancer is employed to wear this disguise, seldom the initiate himself. The "eagle" bends down beside the singers as if whispering a song to them, though in reality they have themselves composed it. They sing this as the masked figure moves around the fire, imitating the gait of an eagle with considerable dramatic skill, while an

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[20] Or whatever may have been the guise in which the [illegible] came to him, in itself dependent on his ancestral myth.

* 556 ● 575 [535] assistant blows a whistle, sounding like an eagle. When the figure has disappeared into the back-room, the heralds discuss with one another in a loud tone of voice how that was the form in which the initiate's ancestor appeared long ago. At the present time there is uncertainty concerning the proper ritual connected with the appearance of the *tutwinam* at this juncture.

A senior *susaok* then calls on X to bring forward goods, "to shield our eyes from the supernatural being." These articles, part of which may have been provided by relatives of the initiate, are piled beside those brought forward by X's wife, which may also have come from the same source.

[535] The singers strike up the second song of the initiate; again he appears and dances to it, then vanishes into the rear room.

[465] The two assortments of goods are now distributed. First, those provided by X are presented to the singers who composed the songs for the initiates, to the carpenters who made the masks, the heralds, and announcers, and any others who have assisted; if any remain they are presented to the stranger-guests. Then the goods which are "mats for the dancer's feet" are distributed, entirely to the guests, and are said to have "become nothing" or to have "flowed away" in the transaction. Neither set of goods is returnable. These presents validate in the eyes of the guests, the right of the initiate to membership in the *susaok* society.

Then a second, third, or fourth neophyte is called out, one at a time, and the same procedure is repeated.[81] In distributing the goods, efforts are made to remember those guests who received nothing at the first distribution.

Toward dawn, one of the important chiefs, it is immaterial which one, calls out:

"I want a *siki*."

[789] It is understood that for this part of the ceremony a foreign expert is required, and one such comes forward according to previous arrangement. He retires to the back-room and re-

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[81] Though desirable, it is seldom possible for all the initiates to dance on the same night.

turns, clad in his ceremonial costume, including a long cape 556*
with pockets. With him come the four or five young men who 575
have just finished dancing. The singers beat time furiously
with their sticks, and the *siki* whirls round and round, working 789
himself into a frenzy with twists and gyrations. Gradually, he approaches one of the initiates, and pretends to pluck something from his body. As he opens his hands the spectators see that there is something in them, what exactly, they cannot distinguish. Only those who are *susaok* understand that, whatever it is, it has been palmed from one of his cape pockets. He pretends to throw this object upwards, at the same time slipping it back into his cape. As the article is, theoretically, thrown aloft the sound of whistling is heard, which grows weaker and weaker till it finally ceases. Meanwhile the heralds discourse loudly with one another about how the "eagle" or whatever it is, has been extracted, and is now returning above. The same procedure is repeated for the other initiates. This concludes the night's ceremony. Food is distributed and the people disperse.

The employment of a foreign *siki* to expel the power from [424]
the initiates is necessary since this particular prerogative is not
native to Bella Coola. Formerly the expulsion was done in the [177]
back-room without any elaborate ceremony. This rite marks 556*
the admission of initiates into the *susaok* society although they 575
cannot yet leave the back-room. It must be understood, however, that a youth may be initiated several times, on each occasion receiving new songs and perhaps a different mask. In this way his prestige as a *susaok* is increased, and the son of
a powerful chief will often be initiated ten or more times. A
mask so acquired is preserved in concealment as the personal [422]
property of the owner who may use it at potlatches on future [532]
occasions. It will be the guise in which a dead person returns [428]
to visit the living. After being used for this purpose, a mask may be burnt, or willed to a near relative of the deceased, who slightly alters the painting before using it himself.

It is somewhat difficult to understand the attitude of those [781]

*556 ●575 ·781 watching either the masked dancer or a representation of the deceased. Usually, the feet are plainly visible, and the spectators cannot fail to realize they are looking, not at an eagle or other supernatural creature, but at a man. Yet no one ever expresses this doubt. It must be remembered that all are firmly convinced of the close relationship existing between denizens of the land above and members of the *susaok* society. To the uninitiated this is proved by the whistling. They regard the figures as supernaturally endowed representations of those beings with whom the participants are able to come in contact. A sophisticated Bella Coola likened their attitude to that of a man praying before images of the saints, fully realizing that these are only inanimate statues, yet mentally experiencing a feeling of close contact with the saints themselves. Another expressed it thus:

"The uninitiated are trained to believe what they see. It would be most improper for them to voice any doubts, in fact they do not have any, so firm is their belief in the supernatural power of the members of the *susaok* society."

This last appears to be the real explanation. Everyone must have his or her doubts, but each is afraid to express them, realizing that so doing would not only offend the chiefs, as individuals, but the supernatural powers with whom they are in touch, which is obvious from the whistling that accompanies the ceremony. It appears that the uninitiated have no idea how this is produced.

CONCLUDING CEREMONIES AND OBSERVATIONS

*556 575 The number of *susaok* initiates is usually too great to allow all to dance on one night. If possible, this is done; but if not, on the following evening more of the initiates perform in the manner already described. The distribution of presents and [789] the expulsion of power from the young *susaok* also follow the same lines. If many of them are secluded, three, or even four, nights may be required until the last one has danced, and the last cleansing has been performed.

There now remains only the necessity of removing from the 556*
house itself the supernatural power with which it is firmly 575 ●
believed to have been impregnated throughout the many weeks
of the ceremony. Should this not be done, it would be so 783
strong that only *susaok* could thenceforth live in it, and no 789
kusiut rite could be performed therein. One of the senior
chiefs, acting on X's behalf, requests as many *siki* as are present to go to the back-room. At the same time a drum is
beaten slowly. The *siki* call out loudly, in unison, *hoip* four
times. The whistles sound from the back-room with ever-lessening intensity, as if the supernatural being, whose voice
they are, were going away. It is said that this practice has [177]
been comparatively recently adopted from Rivers Inlet: there
used to be nothing of the kind. The *siki* re-emerge, and one
of them stands behind the fire with his stick which he beats
on the floor and calls on the audience to shout with him,
"*hi* . . . ." This is done four times. It serves to purify the
house from the supernatural power with which it has been
saturated. The people then disperse, without food.

Goods from the general store are reserved to pay these men [465]
for their services, and also for cleansing the initiates from the
powers with which they have been imbued, a rite that takes
place the following morning in the presence of several *siki*
alone. The initiates are brought from the back-room and
seated in a close circle between the door and the fire.[11] A
foreign *siki* is chosen by X to perform the actual cleansing
rite. He has been asked beforehand and has come provided
with a long pole and some soiled clothing. It is immaterial
whose this is, provided that it has been in contact with a [778
human body; the most potent articles are catamenial cedar-bark 841]
pads.

The *siki* covers the young men with a large cedar-bark mat. Then he fastens the clothing or pads to his pole and holds the end in the fire until they are smouldering. Then he swings it four times over the heads of the initiates and throws the stick

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[11] Behind the fire according to some informants.

* 556 with the objects back on the fire. In some cases four sets of
● 575 cloths are used. This rite, which is regarded as very important,
frees the lads from the supernatural powers with which
783 they have been endowed, and permits them finally to leave
789 the back-room and return to normal life, just as their earlier
cleansing freed them from the *tutwinam*. During their period
of seclusion no initiate can perform a *kusiut* ceremony of any
kind. The supernatural beings of the two societies, though
closely akin, are yet independent, and it would be unthinkable
for a man to enter into contact with the two at the same time,
unless he should be the owner of a rare prerogative enabling
[424] him to do so. Only a few men have the right, which undoubtedly
was derived either from the Bella Bella or the
[177] people of Rivers Inlet.

* 556 X pays the functioning *siki* with new clothing. This completes
the whole ceremony. The guests either return home or
575 adjourn to some other house where a potlatch is taking place,
[465] but no rites mark their departure.

* 556 Such, then, are the principal features of the Bella Coola
potlatch. Without making a careful comparison of its features
171 with those of neighbouring tribes, the following points stand
out with great clearness:

(1) The basic concepts of the potlatch in Bella Coola are the same as those of the rite practised elsewhere on the coast.

(2) A potlatch has not the same importance at Bella Coola as it has on other parts of the coast, especially among the
Kwakiutl. All informants stated repeatedly that they did not
[186] carry their potlatches to the same lengths as did the "foolish"
Kwakiutl, nor were they as keen financiers. A Bella Coola would never entirely impoverish himself by lavish giving.

(3) The potlatch, though fundamentally the same as it is elsewhere on the coast, has certain rites characteristic of the locality. The central Bella Coola feature, the return of a dead ancestor, is not equally important elsewhere. It would be interesting to be able to trace the history of this. The most

*556 chief to pay somewhat lavishly, since the value of the copper
[435] depends on the amount expended on it.

[437] The $20 received by the poor man must not be casually
spent. He is expected to invite the whole village to his house,
*556 otherwise he would never again be given a copper. The heralds
735 call everyone to the house, the singers as usual being the first
to arrive. They beat out the *kusiut* song of anyone, to which
[533] the owner dances; the songs are used one after another, until
almost every member of the society has danced. *Susaok* songs
●[575] may then be used in the same way. Since the supernatural beings are not present, the rite has no religious significance; it is merely a social affair. At the close of the dancing, the poor man distributes food to all, equivalent in value to the money received. It is probable that poor men sometimes give away slightly less than they have received, although any noticeable laxity in this would be punished by the receipt of no further coppers. The recipient of a copper from a fire derives no direct gain from it, though it is to his indirect advantage, since a person who has given away food is likely to receive larger presents on future occasions than one who has not.

Meanwhile the chief owning the copper is unable to use it
435 at his potlatch since the value, dependent on the goods ex-
*556 pended for it, is only $20, a sum so small that to use it would be insulting to his dead ancestor. There are several ways of increasing its value:

(1) *By Painting*. Taking advantage of some ceremony
[532] when a number of people are present, the owner gives a carpenter $10, for example, with a request that he paint on his copper a representation of the crest used by his, the owner's, first ancestor, when coming to this earth. Henceforth the value of the copper is $30.

435 (2) *By Naming*. The Bella Coola say that among the
552 Kwakiutl names are given to almost all coppers; in Bella
Coola it is a rare practice. Occasionally, a chief creates a
*556 name for his copper and validates this by presents to all the

688 his relatives. This punishment is customary in cases of the
693 upsetting of a canoe. Death is the penalty for throwing refuse
[177] into the river, particularly during the summer, and until the
coming of the white man the River Guardian exacted it without
hesitation.

THE PROFESSION OF UTTERING A DRONING CRY

424 At the appearance of masked figures representing super-
551 natural beings, whether in *sisaok* or *kusiut* dances, many of the
women repeatedly utter a peculiar, high-pitched, droning cry
[575] which adds considerably to the weirdness and impressiveness
[463] of the occasion. Ability to do this depends on an ancestral
prerogative duly confirmed by the distribution of presents.
[431] Many ancestral myths describe how some of the first women
[773] were given by *Älquntäm*, or acquired in other ways, the right
to drone, and mention is made of the name used by each with
respect to this prerogative. Unlike the one previously described, many of the first women possessed this privilege,
which is accordingly common at the present time. A name
[553] of this type is usually confirmed in girlhood, sometimes even
in infancy, and being of relatively slight importance may be
validated at a ceremony of less dignity than a potlatch. One
of these names is *Nunuqwelelslaix̣en·a*, which has reference to
[773] the blue-green sheen of some abalone-shell brought from the
east by Raven in the beginning of time, as described in the
ancestral myth in which this name is included. For many
[178] years there has been considerable laxity with regard to this
prerogative, and women lacking it have even been urged to
drone in order to add to the solemnity of the occasion and to
increase the wonder of the uninitiated.

424 There is another similar prerogative, enabling the incum-
767 bent to drone at mourning ceremonies. In the beginning of
time, *Smaoan* of Kimsquit married *Tlākwaitl*, the daughter of
463 a Bella Bella chief, who had this right. It has since been
773 transmitted from one of her descendants to another at Kimsquit.

701 difficult to estimate the former influence of such warriors.
The belief of all in their ability must have given them some
prestige, although the requirements of practical qualifications
in fighting must often have prevented them from functioning
as military leaders. In other words, a man may be, socially,
a warrior, even though he lacks ability as a fighting man.

701 The functions of warriors are not limited to fighting with
enemies of other tribes. Each has the power to kill and must
693 exercise it when requested. If a mistake is made in a cere-
[688] monial *kusiut* dance, the offender must be killed, and one way
in which this is accomplished is by the senior members of the
575 society requesting a professional warrior to act as executioner.
428 One of these men, who lived at *Ásān-ān-i*, always used a stone
club which had been handed down from generation to gener-
411 ation, becoming the property of each new incumbent of the
name and prerogative. In other cases, the killing is said to
[754] have been done with the aid of magic. The power of the
Ásān-ān-i warrior had been confirmed with so much goods
that he was the most powerful professional killer known to the
Bella Coola. He acted on instructions from the senior mem-
bers of the *kusiut* society or when called upon by anyone. If,
[684] for example, a man found that his wife had been faithless and
wished to kill her lover, it was only necessary to tell the pro-
fessional warrior, who was bound to act in accordance with
his prerogative. He received no pay, since he was merely
exercising his right. The relatives of the murdered person
[682] never took revenge on the slayer, realizing that he was power-
less in the matter, though they frequently requested him to
slay the person who had asked him to kill the first victim.
He could never refuse to do so, even if the victim were his own
brother, or if he knew that the person he was to kill was guilt-
less. The underlying principle was that this man's power had
been increased to such a pitch by the distribution of presents
[761] that if he failed to exercise it on demand, it would react upon
himself and cause his own death. This *Ásān-ān-i* warrior
began in time to have an aversion for his vocation, since he

was being feared and hated by all. Yet his prerogative was 701
so strong that he could not cease to act. He found by chance 693
a cave near the top of precipitous Mount *Nusimusta*, not far from his village, and told everyone that he would die there, where no one would ever be able to spit or tread upon his grave. One autumn, when an old man, he disappeared, and although search parties scoured the woods for him, they were unsuccessful. Next spring, some young men visited the cave in which they found his badly decomposed corpse; the warrior had kept his promise.

The profession of warrior carries with it prohibitions and 701
requirements other than with regard to killing. Such men are thought always to be so wild and restless that they cannot sleep at night, but prowl around the village watching for possible foes. In actual fact, warriors seldom sleep quietly throughout the night. They have one restriction of a social nature, in that they can never be confined in the back-room [575]
as initiates into the *sisauk* society. Consequently, no *tatwinam* ever comes to one of them. When one gives a potlatch, a rather boastful song is sung for him as he remains in the central part of the house. What affiliation this brings him with the *sisauk* society is obscure.

It is difficult to say to what extent a professional warrior 156
believes in his own powers, since there is, and must always
have been, great individual variation. The white man finds 701
it difficult to understand the psychology of a man who considers himself bound to kill on request, simply because presents have been distributed to make him a warrior. It must be remembered that this is one of the most pervasive features of Bella Coola life; functions of all kinds depend upon validated prerogatives, and there is no doubt that a man who has one of this kind is actually influenced to such an extent that he begins to believe in his own prowess. It was unusual for a warrior to exercise his powers as freely as did the *Âsân ân-i* man, but the Bella Coola have no difficulty in explaining this:—his prerogative had been confirmed with more lavish expenditure

expenditure though he must forgo the prestige enjoyed by a 424
man who has been able to elevate his professional names in a 556
lavish manner. Selection is a constant factor in the social life 182
of a Bella Coola; the man who uses all his wealth to acquire a firm seat cannot be "strong" in *sisauk* matters; the man who desires to specialise in *kusiut* affairs cannot afford to display an elaborate totem-pole. Amid these conflicting desires, it often happens that a man somewhat neglects his professional prerogatives, especially those of which the dignity has been slightly lessened through superior skill shown by individuals [555]
endowed with no more than native ability. Upstarts of this [177]
kind have always infringed upon professional dignity, and the coming of the white man has added a new factor which has almost destroyed vocational prerogatives.

A'alk Dances

The most important, as well as the most spectacular, dances 177
that occur at potlatches are those given by members of the 535
sisauk society. In addition to these, a feature of many potlatches is the performance of *a'alk* dances.[1] As already mentioned, from 1870 onwards there have been many changes 575
in *sisauk* ritual; new elements have been acquired by the marriages of Bella Coola to members of the coastal tribes, with the [184]
result that details of procedure vary at every ceremony according to the prerogatives of the donor. [796]
Since 1910, the influence of white civilisation has increased to such an extent that *sisauk* ceremonials have virtually been abandoned. This took place at a time when the ritual was in transition, a state of affairs which rendered difficult the collection of coherent information. *A'alk* dances are associated with *sisauk*, but the addition of new features to the latter was accompanied by a decay of the former. Both societies have now almost ceased to exist, but whereas the *sisauk* organization was abandoned during a period of change and accretion, that [128]

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[1] Called [illegible] in Kimsquit.

177 of the *a'alk* came to an end when it was already waning in
535 importance. It was impossible to obtain as much detailed
575 information about the latter as was desired, and it is even
128 possible that some of the facts recorded in connection with
sisaok ceremonial really belong to *a'alk* rites.

The right to perform an *a'alk* dance depends upon a duly
424 validated ancestral prerogative of which the obvious mark is
535 an *a'alk* name. Some of the first people brought down such
designations and dances with them from above in the beginning
575 of time, a few were acquired on this earth as gifts from super-
[773] natural beings. Those who have rights of this kind form a
loose organization which may be termed the *a'alk* society.
This is closely associated both with the *sisaok* society and with
chiefs, owing to the occurrence of these three types of names
in the same ancestral myths. One member of an ancestral
[556] family may use his goods to validate his ancestral name,
another to make himself a *sisaok*, a third to become an *a'alk*,
and an important chief, endowed with ability and wealth, may
be able to do all three.

A'alk dances are less spectacular than those of either the *sisaok* or *kusiut* societies, nor are rattles or whistles used. The prerogatives of a member are limited to his name, the right to perform a certain dance, and the use of a song which commonly describes some feature of his ancestral myth. Four types of dances are considered to be *a'alk*; the methods of acquiring and using any one of these are similar, so it is unnecessary to describe the differences before the actual account of the performance of each.

556 If there is a dormant *a'alk* prerogative in the ancestral
family of the donor of a potlatch, he usually chooses to validate
575 this as one of the features of his ceremony. He first consults
his wife and other relatives to ensure that sufficient goods will
be forthcoming, and if this matter can be arranged satisfactorily, he chooses some young relative as the recipient of the dormant right. It would be most unusual for the youth selected to decline the honour. Or some man, other than the

holder of the potlatch, may wish to confirm a prerogative and 556
requests the donor to allow this to take place at his ceremony. 575
Permission is never refused, since the more incidental rites, the greater is the prestige of the whole. The young man on whom the name is to be confirmed is always told what is planned for him, and his relatives instruct him what to do.

As the time for the potlatch draws near, the donor requests the singers to prepare an *a'alk* song for the youth. The theme [533]
always deals with some incident of his ancestral story with which the singers are already familiar. If a number of youths are to be made *a'alk*, a song must be composed for each. The 532
carpenters are also requested to make for the initiate one, or
sometimes two, masks representing a supernatural being, either 556
human or animal, connected with the myth in which occurs 575
the *a'alk* name about to be conferred. The design is chosen by the senior members of the ancestral family concerned; it is usually, though not necessarily, the same as that employed by the last incumbent of the name. If the designation about to be confirmed is one which came down from above in the beginning of time, the mask usually represents the guise adopted by the first user of the name; if the prerogative were obtained on earth, it portrays the being from whom the right was received. These arrangements are made in secret, and are known only to the craftsmen, the donor of the potlatch, and his family.

On the night of *xlāxtnam*, when the work for the potlatch is 556
allotted, the youth who is to be made an *a'alk* is confined 575
within the back-room of the house, presumably in company with the *sisauk* initiates, though there is ambiguity on this point. After the general arrangements have been made, an elderly *a'alk* whose aid has been requested, suddenly rushes from the house as if he had heard some noise. One of the *siki*, or an influential chief, makes some allegedly witty remark as to why he has gone out, and then follows, taking with him the dance head-dress belonging to the *a'alk*. This is identical with [184]
the type worn by *sisauk*, one of the many points of resemblance [535]

552 595 between the two societies. Presently the elderly *sisauk* returns, clad in his ceremonial costume consisting of the head-gear, a blanket, and a narrow apron from which hang deer hooves, small pieces of copper, or other jingling articles. The singers strike up his song, and he dances near the fire in a manner depending upon which of the four dances he has the right to perform. Again the *old* leaves the house; when he returns he announces that a *tatsinam* is coming with a song for the youth, naming the one who is to be made an *sisauk*. A moment passes, and in stalks a masked figure depicting the form taken by the first ancestor of the novice, or the being from which one of his later forefathers received an *sisauk* prerogative. Sometimes two of these beings appear. The apparition circles the fire, stops beside the singers, and chants a song to them in a low voice. Then it enters the back-room and is seen no more. Presently the singers strike up the song they have just heard. To those who are neither *sisauk* nor *kusiut* it seems that the song was brought by the supernatural visitor; in reality, it is the one previously composed by the singers and taught by them to the wearer of the mask to lend realism to the performance. The youth concealed within the back-room does not emerge on this occasion, the song is merely sung in practice. Sometimes the masked figure appears during the day-time and walks openly along the shore of the river like a foreign guest, as indeed it is said to be. [184 292 535]

[184 178] The coming of a *tatsinam* is one of the points of resemblance between *sisauk* and *kusiut* rites. The older people agree that this has long been a feature of the former society, adopted by the latter in recent years. The description given in this section appears to be of the original and proper use, although, as already noted, the *kusiut* have recently employed *tatsinam* for somewhat different purposes.

It is uncertain whether or not the *sisauk* novice remains secluded any longer within the back-room. In ancient times he probably did, but with the recent growth of the *kusiut* society and decline of the ə'alt, concealment has become limited to initiates of the former organization. 575 [178]

No more ə'alt dances take place during the potlatch preliminaries, but with the coming of the first group of foreign guests, the host displays as many types of dance as he is entitled to, including ə'alt if he has the necessary prerogative. On this occasion other ə'alt, especially relatives of the donor, give their dances, the only time that such are used at potlatches except by novices receiving names. This is repeated on the arrival of every party of guests. 575 535

Meanwhile the novice, or novices, has been practising the proper steps for his appearance, which always occurs immediately before the entry of the masked figure representing the donor's dead relative. As already mentioned, there are four kinds of ə'alt dances, known as [illegible],[1] [illegible], [illegible], and [illegible]. A similar song is used for a dancer of any one of these four; the text describes some small incident of the ancestral myth in which the name occurs, such as the bringing down of the prerogative by the first incumbent in the beginning of time. At the proper moment, the singers beat this out and the audience joins them in singing it. Then the singers begin to strike rapidly on the floor with double beats, assisted by the guests who clap their hands in rapid [illegible]. Out comes the dancer, resplendent in his head-dress decorated with ermine skins, and [illegible] with the required prerogative begins to dance. If his prerogative is as a [illegible] or [illegible], he proceeds to a place beside the fire and begins to run around it, [illegible], in short mincing steps, revolving at the same time on himself. He clasps his hands behind his back and bends down, then stands upright with palms extended upwards, never ceasing to move his feet in rapid steps. This type of dance is far more violent than a usual one, and the amount of energy expended by a dancer in his rapid circuits of the fire is tremendous. Never, even for a moment, are his feet quiet, while his body twists and bends in an amazing fashion. After two [590] [533]

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[1] Among the supernatural beings, the [illegible] is a [illegible] [illegible] [illegible].

556 or three rounds he retires utterly exhausted. The time comes
579 now for a nusqmul or am'ko'a dancer in the same. He too comes
535 near the fire and at first dances in the same manner until the
[536] singers in unison bellow out, *W'al·*, "More." With a run that ends in a crashing leap that seems to shake the floor, the performer takes his position between the fire and one of the side walls and begins to revolve furiously upon himself. His body is bent forward until it seems as if all that prevents him from falling to the floor is his hands clenched together as far as possible behind his back, while his feet move so rapidly that the short mincing steps run into each other. Gradually the turning becomes less violent, only to be followed by another cry of *W'al·*, and another rush and jump that lands the dancer behind the fire. Here he revolves once more in the same furious fashion, the same is repeated on the side of the fire opposite to the place where he first performed, and finally between the fire and the door. *Nusqmul* and *am'ko'a* are the most strenuous of all Bella Coola dances and the performer is glad to retire. He afterwards joins the audience. This dance entails no taboos or restrictions on the dancer.

This terminates the performance of this type of dance at a potlatch, but among the goods distributed are some to validate the name acquired by the dancer, and others to legalize his actual display.

578 The occasion on which importance and solemnity are
577 attached to *s'alk* dances is during potlatches, but they are
536 also given at other times. Most Bella Coola performances are so steeped in the presence of the supernatural that the element of enjoyment is secondary, but in the spring, after the
[774] end of the *kusiut* season and before the salmon come to the rivers, dances for pleasure are of common occurrence. A sisauk can call his fellows to his house and the singers beat out sisauk songs to which the owners dance, but the most common hosts are *s'alk*. Of course an individual may be a member of both societies, but the host invites the guests in his *s'alk* name. Those summoned include both members of the society

574 575 535

and those who are not. Any *[illegible]*, provided that he has enough food for a meal, can call in his neighbours, but the one who usually does so is a man who has received his name a year or two before the occasion.

575 574 535 534 [226]

A few days before the time selected, the host asks the singers to compose a new song for him. For a *[illegible]* dancer particularly, and in some cases for any one of the other three divisions of the society, the text does not deal with incidents connected with the host's ancestral story, but with humorous or disgraceful incidents of the present time. If a man has caught ten salmon and kept them all for himself, his miserliness is commented upon in the song. If a wife has deserted her husband for another man, the actions of the two are mercilessly ridiculed. If a chief has failed to display generosity it is likewise recorded, and reference is made to errors in dance ritual. To do this is one of the functions of a *[illegible]*, and the singers are always ready to assist him. At the same time they often add a new incident to the tune belonging to some other *[illegible]* dancer so that he too will be able to perform. In this way the airs are remembered from year to year, which is different from the customary Bella Coola usage.

[202] [203]

On the morning of the day chosen, the host asks one of the singers to beat a drum repeatedly but slowly, as a signal that a non-ceremonial dance is about to take place. About noon, heralds go from house to house announcing who is to give the dance. In the late afternoon the people gather in the dancer's house where men, women, and children seat themselves without distinction of rank, the only reserved place being that for the singers behind the fire. They beat out the host's tune and he dances to it, while the singers themselves sing the words to the amusement of the audience. Using their own discretion, they then beat out the tune of another *[illegible]* and he also dances, followed in succession by a third, a fourth, and as many as the singers think fit. Sometimes the songs of *[illegible]* are used in a similar manner. When many have danced, the host distributes food to all his guests, not forgetting to give the largest presents to the singers and heralds who have rendered assistance. Instead of dispersing immediately, the guests may remain to gamble or wrestle. Since there is no solemnity attached to the affair, it is a time for indulgence in amusements of all kinds. These conclude the chief features of the *a'alk* dances. Probably they once played an important part in the lives of the Bella Coola, but with the increase in importance of the *sisaok*, they have decayed into little more than a form of entertainment.

A'alk ORIGIN MYTHS

Theoretically, every Bella Coola *a'alk* should be able to record the myth in which his name is embodied, but few can do so. Of course if a man has been able to validate both ancestral and *a'alk* names from the same myth, that is his authorization for both. In many cases a myth is split, and the portion containing an *a'alk* appellation is given to some member of the ancestral family, other than the chief able to validate the most important ancestral name. In such a case, the *a'alk* can record little more than that his designation came down with a specified group of the first people. This, for example, is the explanation given by a Kimsquit *nusyimal* for his name *Senadiatla* which came to earth with *Smaiaxa* (I, p. 331) in the beginning of time. Another Kimsquit *a'alk*, *Thaiyákam*, whose prerogative is to perform the dance of that name, states that it was brought down by *Sinaxail* (I, p. 306), who assumed the designation of *Thaiyákam* after its performance. This early settler had the additional name of *Wi'talas*.

The two following origin myths were obtained in some detail:

Once,[6] long, long ago, *Alquntam* came to the conclusion that it was not good for the inhabitants of the world to be afraid of supernatural beings. He decided that the best way to dispel this dread would be to arrange a marriage between his daughter, *Snxan-a*, and a mortal; so he

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[6] Related by Mrs. Willie Mack. European elements have obviously been incorporated into the first part of this legend, though the narrator considered the whole tale to be ancient.

539 to climb up to visit his grandfather. *Be'asum* did not discourage him, so his son began the ascent and soon disappeared from sight. In course of time he reached the land above and made his way to his grandfather, *Ālquntäm*, who was delighted to see him. He told his visitor that he was weary of constantly carrying the sun's light, and asked him to relieve [821] him of the duty for a time. He mentioned that on previous occasions when his wife had acted as his substitute, she, being a woman, had been shy and had hidden herself behind clouds. The boy was willing to undertake the task and listened to his grandfather's instructions; in the morning he was to use only one fire stick, a little later, two, then three, and, finally, four at midday. In the afternoon he was to decrease the number in a manner corresponding to the morning's increase.

Next day *Ālquntäm* went away for a holiday after entrusting his grandson with the precious fire sticks. As soon as he was alone, the malicious youth began to pile one after another on the fire, until people in the world far below were wakened at dawn by the suffocating warmth. *Be'asum's* son threw on log after log, each increasing the heat below. The earth began to sizzle, and finally burst into flames, and the water boiled in the rivers and ocean. *[illegible]* had realized what must be the matter as soon as she felt the great heat, so she went outside and rubbed her hand over the planks on her house. Thus protected, those within [825] survived, although all other human beings perished. Most of the animals escaped by hiding, though the weasel failed to conceal the tip of its tail which was burnt black, a characteristic inherited by all weasels ever since. *Ālquntäm* felt the heat and hurried home.

"You have done great harm to mortals," he burst out angrily. "Hence-[825]forth you shall live on earth as a mink."

Ālquntäm seized his grandson and cast him to earth in this guise.

539 The survivors of the catastrophe multiplied until the whole world
551 was repopulated from the single household. Each of them took an *s'alt*
● 575 name from the burning, and these have been transmitted from one to another of the descendants of each until this day. One of them, a mespawl name, is *[illegible]*, "The Increase of the Sun's Heat through the Addition of Fire Sticks"; another, a *[illegible]*, [illegible], "The Track of the Sun"; a third, *[illegible]*, "The Charred Portion of a Half-Consumed Log."

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575 The following Kimsquit story describes the obtaining of an *s'alt* prerogative in the distant past.

For another version of this tale, see Boas, p. 95.

Related by Jim Pollard.

Long ago, there lived in Kimsquit a young chief who was a great 539 hunter. On one occasion, he was camping in a cave, *Asnkolwlilt*, on 575 the mountains when not only its roof, but the dome of the sky as well, opened so that he was able to gaze into the upper regions of space. From this manifestation of the supernatural, he took for himself the name [551] *Ältwi*, "The Opening of the Upper Regions," and validated it by giving valuable presents. This name has been transmitted from generation to generation and was recently brought to the present owner by his wife. With it is the prerogative of distributing potlatch gifts outside the house [424] since the first *Ältwi* claimed that the sky itself was his only ceiling.

A few years after *Ältwi* had had this experience, he and his three brothers left Kimsquit by canoe to hunt mountain goats at *Szwalt*. To their surprise, a gull perched on the bow of their canoe; they did not scare it away, thinking it indicated a manifestation of the supernatural. At intervals it left its perch and circled around the canoe, but soon returned. As they neared the landing-place, the gull flew ashore and changed into a yearling mountain goat. *Ältwi* told his brothers, of whom the second was named *Älkwa* and the third *O'mäkt*, that he believed this to be a further visitation of the supernatural to himself and that he would investigate it, and later meet them at *Asnkolwlilt*.

Ältwi leapt ashore and followed the yearling goat. Wherever the road was rough, his strange guide travelled slowly so that his human companion could follow him. At length they came to a deep chasm with sheer walls about six feet apart, and a ledge running along one side. *Ältwi* followed the goat along this, until the animal leapt across the gorge, struck the face of the precipitous rock, and vanished. It was clear that he had passed into the interior of the mountain and the chief could hear the distant sound of a drum.

"I can die but once," he said to himself.

Then the brave hunter leapt across the chasm, struck the rock, and passed through it as if it had been tissue paper, to find himself in a vast cavern amid a large number of people. These were really animals who had gathered to await the coming of his guide, the yearling goat. The latter told him not to be afraid, that henceforth he would be under the protection of all animals and would not come to harm, no matter how often he hunted. With breathless interest, *Ältwi* watched the perform- [825] ance of a masqued dance, for every yearling goat is a supernatural dancer of this type. The ceremony lasted throughout the night, and next morning he set out for *Asnkolwlilt*, not realizing that it was really a year since he had left his brothers.

Meanwhile, though the three brothers had almost despaired of their elder's safe return, they patiently remained at their post, and after a year were overjoyed to see smoke rising from *Asnkolwlilt*. They hurried

539 575 to the cave and greeted their long-lost brother affectionately. Though he, too, was delighted at the reunion, he said but little, and for two days told them nothing of his experiences. They remained in camp and on the third night *Älkwi* told his brothers that he had obtained supernatural hunting powers. The following morning the four went out and killed so many mountain goats that the cave was filled with their carcasses. Their good fortune was amazing. *Älkwi* sent one of his brothers to invite to the cave not only the people of Kimsquit but of the whole countryside as well. While he was absent on this errand, the remaining three prepared and smoked the meat, taking care to preserve the leg bones.

Within two weeks the guests began to assemble. *[illegible]* was a good place for a ceremony because *Älkwi* had decorated it with paintings after its roof had opened to show him the upper regions of space.[illegible] When all the people had arrived, the host gave a mountain goat leg-bone to each, asking every recipient to beat time with it. Then *Älkwi* danced [535] a *[illegible]* dance, imitating the one he had seen done by the goat. After performing, he unfolded the story of his adventures and finished by giving away valuable presents of smoked meat and goat grease. Thus was initiated this particular *[illegible]* dance.

In later years, *Älkwi* had such phenomenal success in hunting that [557] by distributing the spoil he was able to create and confirm for his youngest brother the name, *[illegible]*, "The One Who is Always Successful." This has since been transmitted from one generation to another. *Älkwi*, [108] too, is responsible for the name of Mount *[illegible]*, "Leg-Bones." On one occasion he killed a large number of mountain goats on the mountain and left their leg-bones, *[illegible]*, piled together near the spot. He instructed everyone to refer to the mountain by that name, which has since been done.

EARLY HISTORY OF THE SOCIETY

575 578 A few words should be said about the reported early history of the *[illegible]* society. Its members seem always to have been on the best of terms with the [illegible], and there is no mention of feuds between these two organizations. On the other hand, there is said to have been constant friction with members of the *kusiut* society.[illegible] The latter comprises a large number of individuals bound together by the possession of supernatural

[592]

[illegible] These paintings are said to be still in existence, and the sister of one informant claimed to have seen them.

[illegible] This point is elaborated in vol. II, chap. [illegible] patrons and claiming to possess supernatural powers. In contrast 578 to the *a'alk*, the *kusiut* are well organised and regulated; 575 its members are proud of their powers, and scornful of those who lack the same. Under these circumstances, it is not difficult to understand jealousy between the two. Until relatively recent times, the *a'alk* were numerically stronger, and included some chiefs, whereas the strength of the *kusiut* society depended on the supernatural strength claimed by its members. It is true that individuals occasionally belonged to both, if they happened to possess prerogatives of both kinds, but, as a rule, the *a'alk* were young men and the *kusiut* were older people. This rivalry was formerly so intense that all who were not members of the latter society were often termed *a'alk* irrespective of whether or not they actually possessed dances of that type; Carrier Indians alone were not so designated. During the summer, members of the two societies dwelt amicably together, but during the winter, when dances took place, there were continual bickerings. The *kusiut* constantly endeavoured to impress their rivals with their own prowess; while the *a'alk*, not convinced of the others' power, used to mock them in their songs. This was the usual practice in case of some error in *kusiut* ritual. The *a'alk* frequently disobeyed the orders of the *kusiut* and a number of them once tried to pry up a huge boulder beneath which was the "power" of a certain *kusiut* (11, p. 8). In recent years the *kusiut* society has entirely [778] gained the supremacy, but it is agreed by all Bella Coola that in former years this was by no means the case, and that *a'alk* did not hesitate even to kill one of their rivals.

Miscellaneous Ceremonies

The rites described in this chapter and the one preceding 556 comprise the potlatch of the Bella Coola so far as its details could be learnt. Until the increase of wealth in recent years, the potlatch was rare, and it is unlikely that in any village more than one month in the year was consumed in the

533 of each song dance to it. Anyone who has enough food to
535 provide a meal for all is glad to invite his neighbours to such
574 an affair, but the singers and heralds can force a stingy man to act as host. Everyone knows his neighbour's resources and the singers have no hesitation in going to the house of a man with an ample supply of food and beginning to beat out songs
[204 624] there. The heralds are quick to see what is happening and call the people, with the result that the involuntary host is compelled to provide a meal in order not to be thought mean and churlish. Without waiting for the singers to take the
[203] initiative, heralds likewise often invite people to the house of a man whom they know to be well provided with food.

During the summer, the necessity of laying in supplies of
[221 796] salmon makes it impossible to hold many dances, although one of the non-sacred type just described takes place whenever there is a lull in the fishing. In the early autumn, when ber-
556 ries, fish, and game are abundant, the thoughts of chiefs turn
796 to potlatches and the lengthy preliminaries are begun. At this season, too, a chief who lacks sufficient wealth to invite foreign
[321 795 535] guests, calls in his neighbours for a *sisaok* dance and initiates some of his young relatives into that society. The ritual, described in the last chapter, resembles that of a potlatch except that no new house is constructed, there is no return of a dead relative, and the ceremonial connected with the coming of foreigners is necessarily omitted. In some cases a chief performs this type of rite a year before he proposes to hold a potlatch, and explains that he is doing so because he will be unable to give presents to the inhabitants of his own village
[436] at the later affair. Gifts so distributed are returnable with interest, though it is not obligatory for recipients to do this in time for the donor to make use of their repayment at his potlatch.

Ceremonials of this nature occupy the Bella Coola during
[575 535] the early autumn, while in winter *kusiut* dances take place almost nightly. When they are over, it is time for the non-sacred variety of adult performances, and for another type of rite, [illegible].

1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924)1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

presents were distributed to validate the name, *Tlaiyākam*, which *Sinugul* had chosen for himself. 539*

Sinugul married a Bella Bella woman who brought with her the prerogative of a dance with respect to the devil-fish. In Bella Bella this rite was connected both with the *kusiut* and the *sisauk*, but in Kimsquit it was performed only as a *kusiut* dance. It was first given there by *Ealqwan-i*, a relative of *Sinugul*, and has since been performed in like fashion in Kimsquit. Their daughter received the Bella Bella name, *Xaiātsu*, which has since remained in Kimsquit. [424] [575] ● [535] [551]

ORIGIN MYTH OF *Ăgwi·i*[*]

In the beginning of time there came to *Ăgwi·i*, on the east side of the Dean River, about one mile from the sea, *Sonowadks* and his three younger brothers. They brought a stone hammer as their present from *Ālquntäm*. After they had lived some time on this earth, *Sonowadks* asked *Yulätimot* to have a canoe ready for him on the morrow. By the next day *Yulätimot* had completed a fine craft. *Sonowadks* was delighted and spent four days fitting it out; then set out with his three younger brothers for a trip to the far north, where he knew by report that abalone-shells were to be found.[*] The four did not know the route and were constantly penetrating into fiords from which there was no exit; however, they persevered and were helped by all whom they encountered, *Sonowadks*'s name being well known. After a month's voyage, they reached their goal. They found themselves before a lofty precipice falling sheer into the ocean with a cavern visible in it at very low tide. This they boldly entered. At first they were deluged with falling star-fish; in fact, their canoe would have been sunk by the weight of these if the youngest brother had not held up his cedar-bark cloak to ward them off. A little farther on they found countless abalone-shells, with which they swiftly filled the canoe, fearing lest the tide should rise sufficiently to prevent their return if they stayed to investigate farther. Once safely outside they camped, and the eldest brother took the opportunity to bestow names on the younger brothers for things they had seen or done on the way. He called his second brother *Nuxwais-dmp*, "The Warrior," as if he had fought against the abalone; the third *Älus-ümäm*, "Falling Star-Fish," and the youngest *Älosqan*, "The Reef-Maker," a reference to the

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[*] Related by Jim Pollard. Boas (p. 69), has recorded a similar myth from Bella Coola with different characters.

[*] The Bella Coola are emphatic in stating that abalone-shell comes from the north or the east; possibly this may be explained by an indirect trade route. [487]

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1: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

Bellabella NE5

Other people had come down to earth at the same time as *Kásta-a*, and among them a man and his wife who had landed at the mouth of Gas Bay. They had two daughters who, walking one day at the head of the bay, were surprised to find a house. They looked in and saw a woman, so entered, and laughed heartily to find her made of rotten wood. They kicked over the figure and the head fell into the fire and was burnt. Then they seated themselves in her place, worked diligently at the blanket and ate a large amount of the food. Towards dusk they put the figure back in place and hid themselves. BB 539 BC 539 *

Soon *Kásta-a* entered. He embraced the figure, called her a good wife, and thanked her for weaving so diligently and for having eaten so much of the food. Then he saw that she had burnt her head, and chided her, saying that she must take better care of herself. At this the two girls who were hiding burst out laughing and showed themselves. They suggested to *Kásta-a* that he choose one of them for his wife; he agreed, selected the elder and married her. He built a house on a hilltop where they lived and to which he called people from far and near when he gave a potlatch.

Sisauk Origin Myths

As already stated, many *sisauk* names are believed to have come down from above with the first Bella Coola, or to have been created by them on this earth. In such cases, the *sisauk* origin myth is the same as the ancestral myth. Theoretically, names of the same type can also be received through visions in which a beholder is given his new designation by some supernatural being, or takes it from the apparition. In either case, of course, it must be duly validated by the giving of presents. Only three myths were obtained which deal solely with the acquisition of a *sisauk* prerogative. No doubt this is chiefly to be explained by the fact that most *sisauk* rites have been derived from the Bella Bella. BC 773 551 575 ● [787 556 177]

THE ORIGIN OF THE *SISAUK* NAME, *[illegible]*

About 1840, a party of *Xanais* Indians spent the winter in Bella Coola. Early in the spring one of them broke his leg so BC 539 604 424

Related by Joshua Moody.

It was impossible to identify this tribe. According to the Bella Coola they are akin to the Carriers, but have adopted the use of totem-poles, [illegible] dances BC [824]

The name used for the *sisauk* initiate was *[illegible]*, with reference to the feather which had carried away his brother. 539*

A *Senxl Sisauk* MYTH

It is doubtful whether the following tradition is a true *sisauk* myth or merely an explanation for a dramatic performance carried out at potlatches. 534* 575

About 1880 a man of *Senxl* was made a shaman by the supernatural being *Tlaqmai-lo*, a woman who normally lives in the land above. She is made almost entirely of copper so that whenever she walks there is the sound of clanking metal. The visionary was given the shaman's name of *Sxmmsakila*. It was not generally known how he obtained his power, but as his wealth increased in an amazing manner, it was assumed that he must have received something from *Tlaqmai-lo* which, kept in his box, acted as a magnet to wealth.[illegible]

Sxmmsakila laid down four laws for behaviour in his house, which were obeyed, since he was a person of influence both as a shaman and as a man of wealth. He said that *Tlaqmai-lo* had instructed him in the following:

(1) No brand was to be taken from the central fire, lest the supernatural ones who were watching it should be offended at the removal.

(2) No catamenial woman was to be allowed within the house.

(3) No pounding of cedar-bark was to be allowed within the house.

(4) Since his power was in some manner connected with the fire he decreed that while his songs were being sung, there was to be no obstruction of any kind between the singers and it. Accordingly, they did not arrange themselves in the usual circle, but sat in a row with a sloping mat stretched between them and the fire, as if it were a connecting causeway.

Whenever *Sxmmsakila* gave a dance, six holes were cut through the wall of the back-room, at a height of about seven feet from the floor. While actually dancing, six assistants puffed eagle down through these holes on to his head, in time to the music. Moreover, instead of standing on the floor, *Sxmmsakila* used to perform within a large box, which concealed him below the thighs and which was moved to and fro by assistants, as if it had been on castors. After dancing in time to two songs, a metallic clanking [illegible] *Sxmmsakila* [illegible] returning with a small, masked girl whose clothing was entirely covered with tiny copper ornaments. She represented *Tlaqmai-lo*. *Sxmmsakila*

[illegible] This incident resembles the obtaining of supernatural good fortune; see vol. I, p. [illegible].

1:McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

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would guide the child to the box, lift her in, then leap in himself and dance vigorously beside her. After a time he carried his assistant to the back-room, whence he returned alone to supervise the usual distribution of presents.

A BELLA BELLA *Sisauk* MYTH[*]

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Years ago, when white men first came to the coast, a schooner was surprised and captured by some [illegible] Indians near whose village it was anchored in Johnstone Channel. The crew was massacred with the exception of one man who crawled ashore on a mooring rope; his name was given as *Kimpa*, probably an attempt to pronounce Campbell. For over a year he was hunted by the [illegible] people without success, and it was assumed that he must have died. Four years later, however, a Bella Bella canoe was cautiously rounding a point when the bow man saw a strange figure collecting clams. He went ashore armed with his musket and stalked the creature, which turned out to be the white man, clad in woven bark and moss. The latter made friendly signals, and the Bella Bella treated him kindly, giving him food and clothing. He remained with them for years and learnt their language. On one occasion when his rescuers' supply of powder was exhausted, this man said that he was going away, and left early one morning at high tide, to return in the afternoon with some powder he had made himself. He refused to share with the Bella Bella his knowledge of how to make it, but kept them well supplied, and also furnished much game. When at length a white man's craft came to Bella Bella the survivor sent a message written in charcoal on cedar wood to the captain, and he was taken off. Presents were given to his rescuers for their kindness in aiding him, as well as a paper setting forth the particulars of their friendliness to the whites.

Many years later the son of *Kimpa's* rescuer made a [illegible] dance, and used a mask representing the white man. The myth used in connection with it told of the manner in which the father of the dancer had found a strange creature who brought him good fortune, first by providing him with powder, and then by bringing him into friendly relations with the white men. The only incorrect part of the tale was the postponement of its incorporation until many years after the event.

If this tale has an historical basis, it must be assumed that the survivor of the massacre had been able to conceal some powder which he claimed to have made in order to increase his reputation.

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[*] Related by Joshua Moody.

534 ceived information of the proposed marriage, but they always plead ignorance, and deliberate for several days. Y's parents and other relatives take part in the discussion, and Y herself may likewise be taken into confidence. Although a daughter has, theoretically, little choice, in practice she exercises a great deal of influence. Her mother and father weigh the suitor's [511] eligibility not only with regard to wealth and ancestral possessions, but consider his character. An immoral young man is not desirable, though neither is one who is impotent.

If Y's relatives agree to the proposal, some one of them informs the intermediary, or X's father, and the young people are considered to be engaged. The fact is supposed to be kept secret for several days, although the news usually becomes known sooner. X's relatives as soon as possible take a number 533 of presents to Y's family. These are given in private, and are 534 termed "secret gifts"; they are said to give strength to the future children. Since no witnesses are present it follows that no social prestige accrues from the transaction. The relatives included in the "family" of either X or Y are not always the same; uncles, aunts, grandparents, may or may not take part in the giving and receiving of presents, the parents alone always do so. Sometimes distant relatives take a leading part in the arrangements, either in hope of receiving valuable gifts, or of obtaining social influence by lavish giving. If X's relatives have reason to believe that Y's family will accept their proposal, several of them may go in company and actually carry the "secret gifts" to Y's house at the time of making the first proposal. Should this be rejected, they merely carry away their goods, and as the affair has been private, no one's vanity is hurt.

The acceptance of "secret gifts" binds the engagement of X and Y, but a few days elapse before this is made public. If 534 X's family is wealthy, his father, or other near relative, pre- 534 sently invites all the inhabitants of the village to his house. 545 The singers, in their usual positions behind the fire, strike up the tune of some kusiut and the owner of the song, thus warned, 575

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dances in time to it. Using their own discretion, the musicians proceed to beat out the time for *kusiut* after *kusiut*, and each performs. In like fashion they then beat out the tune of one *sisauk* after another, and each member of that society gives his dance. Since none of the supernatural beings is present, the affair is non-sacred. The singers consult with the host as to the number of songs to be used. When they stop at last, X's father, aided by his younger relatives, gives valuable presents of food. No mention of the coming marriage is made, but the rite gives the donor an opportunity of displaying his generosity as a chief and indirectly increases the importance of the wedding because the value of the food will later be remembered in connection with it. [558]

If X's father is very wealthy, he may recall the people for several nights, always providing the same type of entertainment, and always giving food. He uses his own judgment as to the number of such entertainments, but at that which he decides shall be the last, he announces:

"Tomorrow we shall go to Y's father's house."

If X's father does not wish to give away such large quantities of food he may omit the dancing in his own house and make this announcement at a potlatch, a *kusiut* dance,[9] or any other public gathering. But the more elaborate the ceremonial, the greater is the importance of the marriage in the eyes of the Bella Coola, which in turn increases the strength of the children who may result from it. [558]

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On the morning after this declaration, X's father calls to his house those whom he wishes to be witnesses of the alliance that has been planned. These include as many of his relatives and those of his wife as he desires, and often intimate friends. These individuals comprise the group interested, on behalf of X, in the marriage; they provide the goods which are given for him, and receive the presents from the corresponding group of Y's relatives. Anyone having the necessary financial ability old man came back to Bella Coola with his son, a man about twenty-five years of age. During his absence all his relatives had died, and he was forgotten. He went to the house of a man with whom his ancestors had intermarried generations ago, explained who he was, and was welcomed. The old man and his son have since lived there, although it is doubtful if the owner of the house had ever heard of their existence, and the son cannot even speak the Bella Coola language. 602 476

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[9] This is probably a recent innovation.

X and Y themselves are not entirely overlooked in the exchange of presents between their two families. If Y's father is well pleased with his son-in-law he may show this not only publicly, which redounds to his own credit, but by the communication of secret lore such as a special number of nights for ceremonial chastity. Conversely, if Y should not be a *kusiut*, her father-in-law often asks her father's permission to make her a member of that society. The woman's father is naturally pleased and makes no objections; so she is initiated, using a name and prerogative embodied in her husband's family. Commonly too, they give her one of their ancestral names at any convenient ceremony later than the wedding. In conformity with the rules already explained, if Y should die childless the names return to X's relatives, but if there are children they pass to them. It is said that *sisaok* names can never be transferred in this manner. 606 491 425 [715] [575] [563] [575]

Y's father and other relatives continue to take an interest in her ceremonial welfare and in her personal comfort. If X beats or otherwise abuses her, they expostulate; and if his cruelty becomes unbearable they shelter their daughter when she runs away from her husband. If X should murder Y, she would be revenged by her family. Only one instance of this was known, when the murderer avoided his pursuers by fleeing from the country. As a rule a wife is fairly well treated, though this depends on the character of the husband, the importance of her relatives, and the amount of goods expended to validate the marriage. Among slaves and persons of no influence, it is assumed that a husband may sell his wife as a 593 [602] [627] [567] [432] [618] this rite is neglected no more salmon will come to the river. No precautions are necessary after the food has been digested. 764 [825]

Many men prepare their coffins before death. If this has not been done, a large, wooden box is provided by a kinsman of the deceased. The body is dressed in good clothing and bound into a squatting position, head between knees, hands clasped around shins, and the haunches just above the level of the soles of the feet. In this posture it is thrust into the coffin. Particularly if the corpse has been brought from some distance and *rigor mortis* has set in, it may be necessary to break the back-bone and even to crush the skull before the box can be closed. A stone is placed on the back of the neck, within the coffin, to prevent the ghost from returning to haunt the survivors. A little choice food is placed beside the body of a dearly loved child for nourishment during the journey to the next world. [763] [602] [775]

From this point onwards, the funeral rites differ according to the rank of the deceased. On the death of an influential *kusiut*, the senior members of that society meet as soon as possible to arrange the dramatization of the coming of *Malabila*. A *kusiut* son, brother, or other near relative is always present even if he has little importance in the affairs of the society. If the death has taken place during the night, the conference is held the following morning and the rites begin at noon. There may be delay until all have gathered, but about the middle of the first possible day two *kusiut* are sent up one of the mountains behind the village. They carry large, cone-shaped whistles which they blow twice. The sound is plainly audible in the village and all, whether or not members of the *kusiut* society, recognize that a supernatural being is drawing near. After a short interval, another whistle is blown by a *kusiut* concealed on the roof of the house in which the corpse is lying, and after another pause the same sound comes from within, beside the body itself. Most of the uninitiated know that this is the voice of *Malabila* (also called *Sixsisputnam*), 795 766 [776]

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575 but even if unaware of the fact, they realize that some supernatural, invisible visitor has arrived. [776]

Heralds go from house to house, and sometimes to adjacent villages as well,[8] inviting the people to pay a farewell visit to the dead man who will soon leave them; in this invitation the *kusiut* name of the deceased is used. [285] [628] The guests assemble at once, irrespective of their rank or membership in the *kusiut* society. To mark their grief, female relatives pull out tufts of their hair, and both men and women of the immediate family cut their hair short. [302] The body, either in its coffin or covered with blankets, is placed between the central fire and the back-room, immediately behind the place where the singers take their stations. When all are present, a son or other near relative who is also a fluent speaker, stands up and expounds how [533] the Chief, meaning *Matlakila*, has come to visit the dead man, and how all should try to understand the song he has brought.[9] 535 575 766 A hidden *kusiut* has been blowing a whistle intermittently, and the singers pretend to be able to understand words of a song in its notes. In reality they have prepared in advance the new one which they now beat out, accompanied by their voices. The theme either describes the coming of the supernatural visitor, or recounts the number of potlatches given by the deceased, and the manner in which these will make smooth the path whither he is going in the same way that distributed goods validate a chief's seat in this world. This song is practised and improved upon amid the booming of the whistle as if the singers were constantly gaining new ideas and embellishments from the words of the supernatural visitor. Sometimes a few incidents are added from the *kusiut* myth. After several repetitions, a relative of the dead man asks the singers to beat out the latter's *kusiut* songs, as many of them as are remembered from the time he was first initiated into the so-

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[8] The Bella Bella are said to invite foreign guests to this ceremony.

[9] Sometimes the people are present when the coming of *Matlakila*, heralded by whistling and a thump on the roof, takes place. There are variations in this, as in all other *kusiut* rites. [184]

ciety. These are given several times, serving to recall the 533
ceremonies in which the chief took part during his life. At 575
intervals, the new song is repeated and *sisaok* members of the 766
audience join in as they become familiar with the words. Frequently one or more relatives of the deceased dance in his [535]
stead during the singing. The details of this rite, especially of the songs used at it, differ considerably according to the actions of the person during life; if a mighty chief, the donor of many potlatches, this fact is described in the song, whereas only an incident from the ancestral myth can be used for a young *sisaok*. If some of his female relatives are professional [767]
wailers, they function during the ceremony. In all circumstances, the rite aims to comfort the grieving kinsmen, an end which it usually achieves.

As already described, *sisaok* ceremonial was in a state of 575
transition at the time of the coming of the white man. Pre- 766
vious to that date, a spectacular funeral prerogative had been 177
adopted from Rivers Inlet,[4] which has since been claimed by a 424
number of *sisaok*. All the Bella Coola know of this ceremony, [178]
and most of them desire to perform it at the death of a dearly loved relative; at the present time this is possible owing to the slight regard paid to prerogatives, but it is certain that a few years ago it would have been forbidden to most people, and that it was never a universal Bella Coola rite.

When this rite is performed, the corpse is allowed to remain 575
in its coffin for at least one night after the day on which 766
Matlabila came and the *sisaok* songs were sung. Meanwhile 532
the carpenters have prepared an imitation body, usually of rags on a light framework, and a wooden representation of the deceased's crest. Since this figure is to come through the roof and carry aloft the corpse, stout hooks are attached to its feet. In theory, the bird or animal disguise used by the first ancestor

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[4] One old Bella Coola stated that this prerogative was obtained during his own life-time from a Rivers Inlet chief who moved to *Talio*. It is impossible to state accurately when this ritual was adopted by the Bella Coola, though it is unquestionably of recent origin.

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of the deceased, traced patrilineally, should come for the body, but this is difficult to arrange in case of whale, bear, and other marine or land mammals. Consequently, it has been customary to use only raven or eagle for this purpose, and it is assumed that at least one of these birds is present in the ancestral history of every individual as a result of the marriage of some of his forbears with a woman possessing one of these crests.[9] It is a common practice for an influential *sisaok* to prepare a figure of this kind during his life-time and tell a son or other trusted relative where it has been hidden; if this has been done, it obviates the necessity of carpenters manufacturing one at short notice.

Several days are often required to complete these arrangements, but on the first evening possible, which may be two or three days after the death, the people are summoned to the dead man's house. The singers take their usual positions behind the fire and beat out the song used at the mourning ceremony already described; then, as on that occasion, they follow it with a number of the deceased's *sisaok* songs. Once more they strike up the one newly composed and, as it is proceeding, whistling is heard, accompanied by the screaming of an eagle or the croaking of a raven. Those who are not members of the *sisaok* society do not understand that these sounds are produced by hidden members blowing whistles on the roof. There is a crash on the planking and, through a space opened by the removal of several boards, the face of the bird crest can be seen peering in. It is a dramatic spectacle and the audience gaeps appreciatively, especially those who see in it a manifestation of the supernatural, testifying to the importance of the deceased. If the stage management has been accurate, the figure appears at the termination of the song, but if it has arrived during the actual singing, the singers beat time slowly and cease to use their voices. The eagle, or raven, keeps squealing repeatedly and gradually comes through

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[9] The use of only raven or eagle is probably a degeneration due to recent decay of customs.

the hole in the roof, ponderously and slowly, until its talons grip the "body." In the same gradual fashion it carries this upwards until, just before the burden disappears through the roof, one of the principal singers leads his fellows and the audience in calling out: 575 766

"*Ye·*," which has the significance of, "May you have a safe passage whence you came and whither you are going."

As soon as the bird has disappeared, its notes are heard from above, growing gradually fainter as the actors blow their whistles less violently. An eloquent *kusiut* stands up and expounds how the deceased's crest has come down from above to carry away his body, and often mentions incidents in the ancestral myth to explain why this bird had appeared. A young man is sent up to replace the roof boards and the hidden accomplices rejoin the audience unostentatiously. The corpse itself remains hidden in some back corner of the house where it was concealed at the time the dummy was seized, so that nothing indicates what has taken place.

The relatives must give presents to all who have witnessed this ceremonial prerogative. These are now distributed without regard to the rank of the recipient; such gifts are not returnable and are said to be, "What Has Been Shaken Off," like dust from the departing body. A meal, likewise provided by the kinsmen of the deceased, is next served, and as the people are eating, it is customary for senior *kusiut* to make laudatory speeches, extolling the dead chief and comforting the survivors by reminding them of the way in which he will be looked after in virtue of his ancestral traditions. This procedure may continue for several hours, and it is only when no one else wishes to speak that the people disperse. [552] [537]

It is not easy to comprehend the attitude of the Bella Coola to this rite. Some influential *kusiut* state emphatically that in former days it was possible to carry it out so realistically that the uninitiated were deceived, and never suspected that the actual corpse was later on buried in secret by the singers, carpenters, and *kusiut*. On the other hand, those who do not 575 766 781

575 766 781 wish to emphasize the importance of this society, state that the deception was always apparent, and that even the hooks and ropes by which the figure was manipulated could be seen. Still others regard the ceremony as a symbolic means of portraying the manner in which a man's crest comes to carry away his spirit and life. [184] It seems clear that different interpretations must always have been accepted by different members of the community. A young and ingenuous initiate, steeped in the atmosphere of the supernatural, may well have believed that he was gazing upon an actual supernatural being, as the senior sisaok desired him to do; others must have recognized that a deception of some kind was being practised, but dramatization is such an important factor in Bella Coola life that individuals often disregard the difference between semblance and reality, and it is contrary to custom for a person to cast aspersions upon the prerogative of another. It is easy for such an one to accept the drama as a symbol or representation of the manner in which the crest carries off the intangible elements of the dead. This is certainly the attitude of the Bella Coola at the present time. Everyone realizes that the crest is of human manufacture and that the corpse itself is not carried away, but the rite is still performed and gratifies the survivors by giving them an opportunity to display their prerogative and the crest of the deceased's ancestor.

575 766 Perhaps because of its relatively recent introduction, details of the performance of this rite are not fully standardized. In some cases, the crest is made to appear at the same time as *[illegible]*, instead of at a subsequent ceremony. [224] It is assumed that the origin of the rite is in some ancient myth in which the body was actually taken above by the crest, an act copied, with the aid of carpenters, by the descendants [773] of the person to whom this occurred. There are no myths of this nature current in Bella Coola, although it is thought that such must have been common among the peoples of the outer coast to explain the prevalence of the practice in that area. [424] One old man mentioned that an [illegible] myth in which a

[illegible]

body became caught down and was washed upwards is psychologically of the type which might serve as basis for a rite of this kind. If the descendants of the person to whom this had happened had dramatized the incident at subsequent deaths, a custom analogous to the one here described would have arisen.

DISPOSAL OF THE BODY

There is no fixed time for the disposal of a corpse. When possible, it takes place on the day following death, but as many as four days may elapse if delay is necessary for the performance of the rite just described. Another reason for postponement is the absence of near relatives; if they can be summoned within four to five days, the funeral may be delayed until their arrival. There is always endless discussion concerning the exact details; all relatives and members of the ancestral family take part, though the wishes of a son, brother, or other near kinsman are usually followed. In this, as in so many points of Bella Coola ritual, an influential chief often overrides the desires even of those who are more closely related to the deceased.

Heralds announce the hour chosen,[1] usually about noon, and the people begin to assemble in the deceased's house, even strangers being welcome. Women wail informally, and another indication of the occasion is the bundles containing clothing, cooking utensils, and other articles belonging to the dead person. The lid of the coffin has been left open, but when everything is ready, an elderly man is asked to strike it, once, with a stone; then the lid is closed. Planks have been removed and a hole made in one of the front corners of the house, through which the men throw out the stone. The women redouble their lamentations as an old woman, previously asked to do so, lights a bundle of dried and teased cedar-bark and climbs through the opening carrying this. No request has been made for pall-bearers, but any strong man, especially and recompense to funeral assistants is usually deferred until that time. Such was often true even in former years, although poor people used to call their fellow-villagers together for the express purpose of publicly rewarding those who had helped to bury one of their relatives. It is probable that a ceremony of this kind was of a simple type. Another expedient is, and was, to give gifts to the grave-diggers and others at any convenient ceremony, such as a non-sacred social dance. [illegible] [illegible], when the people have been called together for a ceremony, advantage is often taken of the gathering to settle debts or to perform rites of an entirely different nature. It is probable that the summoning of guests solely to witness the payment of helpers was always unusual, or perhaps it never occurs. On those occasions when a body was buried in secret after the carrying away of a dummy figure by the men, the goods of the deceased were deposited as usual in the cemetery. Those who carried them were the men who had performed the secret interment, and when publicly recompensed for taking articles to the grave it was possible to increase the value of the gifts as reward for the hidden rite without exposing the subterfuge.

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[1] This is done at present even after the [illegible] of the "[illegible]," in former times it was omitted when the corpse was actually buried by the [illegible].

Another type of ceremonial taking place after a funeral is the cleansing from the contamination of death of near relatives of the deceased, and of those who have handled the corpse. If spring sickness or cholera are raging, pall-bearers must not go near the rice for ten days, or twenty according to some informants, after taking a body to the grave. They have become infected with ceremonial uncleanness which, if brought to the rice lands, would poison the [illegible]. Unwillingness to become affected in this way led, on at least one occasion, to an elderly [illegible] being carried out to the cemetery by some old women who covered him with [illegible]. The rules on grave-diggers cannot be removed, but automatically lapse after ten days.

The individual in greatest danger is the husband or wife whose consort has passed away. It is believed that [illegible]

554 764 …tive family. Confusion is probable only when a chief is bereaved after he has stored up goods and made preliminary preparations for a potlatch; he may then carry out the rites intended, but designate the ceremony a memorial potlatch. More often, however, the affair is limited to rites associated [776] with the deceased. Consequently, there is omission of the initiation of neophytes into the kusiut and sisaok societies,* there is no establishment of new seats for young relatives of the donor, and no strengthening of his own. It must be emphasized once more that there is no unalterable sequence of prescribed rituals at either potlatch or memorial potlatch; the omissions just mentioned are customary, not universal, and these present the ritual of the two ceremonies is identical. Except on those rare occasions when contrived at a potlatch, the return of a dead relative is the central feature of both.

In recent years, the great increase in wealth has made it possible for a chief to perform a memorial potlatch soon after the death of an esteemed relative. This was rarely the case in former times, but as there was no other reason for which valuables were so ardently desired, every expedient was used to obtain the necessary goods. Occasionally, a chief happened to have the needful goods stored up so that he could give a memorial potlatch almost immediately. To such a fortunate individual the term, *pantla*, was applied, a word difficult to translate but combining the significances of *rich, ready, fortunate,* and *resourceful.*

Memorial potlatches, like those of the ordinary kind, are usually held in the early autumn, though occasionally one may be postponed until after the winter season. When an intending donor has decided that he owns sufficient goods, he first calls in his fellow-chiefs and makes known his intentions, at the same time expounding in considerable detail the myths which he proposes to use as themes for mourning songs, and for other

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*Performance of such rites at a memorial potlatch would be considered insulting to the Bella Bella and were always omitted during the period when their influence was important.

(see Plate 25). So, too, wooden representations of coppers are often affixed to an upright post. Not only men are commemorated in this way, a father often places over his daughter's grave pictures of the goods used to redeem her from her husband; wooden plaques representing coppers are commonly used for this purpose.[20] Such symbols are usually cut down after a year owing to a vague feeling that it is not proper for them to remain standing too long. The function of this type of memorial is to mark the social status of the dead person as judged by the riches given away by him, or on his behalf, during his life-time. With the introduction of writing, the Bella Coola have been quick to recognize it as an easy means for recording the wealth distributed by a chief. In consequence, signs are often painted and erected, giving in figures a statement of his financial transactions. Another recent introduction has been the tombstone. One of these is often set up with the name of the deceased carved on it to perpetuate his memory, and a representation of his crest to record his ancestral history. Such a memorial combines the functions of the first and third types. 211 556* 764 769 [592] [177] [212] [592]

As the carpenters labour at the memorials, other arrangements for the ceremony proceed apace. As at a potlatch, the fellow-villagers of the donor may be invited separately to his house for the performance of sacred dances, but this feature is often omitted, especially if there are no neophytes to be initiated. The mask to be worn by the deceased relative must be prepared in secret; or if several are to be commemorated at the single ceremony, one must be made ready for each. As the time draws near, envoys are dispatched to invite foreign guests if it has been decided to have strangers present. This has been customary for many years, but during the period when no features of the potlatch were allowed at a memorial potlatch, the latter was sometimes carried out in the presence of the donor's fellow-villagers alone. The actual departure of the 556* 769 [375] [203] [204] toward the actor, blowing eagle down over him repeatedly. After one circuit of the hall, the performer passed out through the front door, from the vicinity of which was heard once more the large whistles and the screaming of the eagle, both growing less distinct as if the bird were flying away. 769 556* 535

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[20] The National Museum of Canada, at Ottawa, has specimens of these wooden coppers.

The wearer of the mask displayed considerable dramatic talent and succeeded in giving a realistic display in spite of the glaring lights which exposed his bare feet and betrayed the human handicraft of the mask in a manner impossible in the native type of house with a single, central fire as the sole illumination. The Carriers had watched the performance with interest, probably tinged with contempt, but to the Bella Coola it was no mere spectacle, it was a religious rite of the highest importance. All the spectators realized that the figure was human, but this seemed inconsequential as they gazed upon the representation of the dead woman in the form of her crest, to which they believed she had been transformed by death. Even the children were silent, and the only sound during the passage was the wailing of a sleepy infant. The eagle crest belonged to Jessie by virtue of membership in the ancestral family descended from her father's first ancestor, traced patrilineally, who had come to earth as *[illegible]* in the form of this bird. The blackfish was a crest acquired through her mother; the raven represented a copper raven belonging to an ancestral myth of the dying grandchild. In former times, carpenters would have worked for weeks preparing an elaborate composite figure, but Captain Schooner wished no delay in the ceremony for fear of police interference, so that it was necessary to use what masks happened to be in existence and to place them in conjunction by means of the crude white sheet. Jessie had not been initiated into the kusiut society, but no opposition was raised to the use of kusiut whistles both on account of her status as chief, and owing to the influence of her father who, a *sisaok* chief, found no restrictions and heeded no conventions. Besides, both her brothers were initia-

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769 556* 424 178

[illegible]

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*556 cestral crest. In former times it is certain that objections would have been raised to this breach of ceremonial privilege.

[424] [178] [575] [622] There was a pause for several minutes after the withdrawal of the figure. Then Reuben threw a copper on the floor in the track taken by the actor "to make bones for the dead woman." A number of chiefs went forward to join the singers and discuss whether or not the copper should be redeemed. No one wished to do so, as Captain Schooner said he would have it fastened to a post over Jennie's grave, a proposition to which all agreed.

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535 After interminable discussion in which Captain Schooner, [illegible], Reuben Schooner, Jim Pollard, and Alec Davis took the principal parts, it was decided to sing the fourth mourning song at this point. There was no reason why this should not have been done at the customary time, after the other three, but wide latitude in detail was allowed in this ceremony; in fact, exact ritual never flourished in Bella Coola [178] and has become increasingly rare in recent years. This song had been composed a number of years previously when Captain Schooner had called in the Bella Bella to a memorial potlatch, and great care had been expended on its composition owing to the skill of the guests in songs of this type. The words, altered to fit the circumstances, were phrased as if George and Dan were lamenting the loss of their mother and other relatives.

"I, we," they ran, "are thinking of our mother, our brothers, our sisters, our mother's brothers, our mother's sisters, our father's brothers, our father's sisters, of all our dead relatives. Please, ye chiefs from abroad, turn your heads, listen to our wail. You several great ones, let us all cry together. It is we who have called you hither; look upon us."

This song was sung in the manner already described, except that more of the Bella Coola were familiar with the words and tune and could accordingly join in.

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*556 Meanwhile Captain Schooner, with his sons Reuben and Harry and his grandsons George Wilson and Andy Schooner, had been crouching in a corner of the hall, poring over the money which was to be distributed to validate the ceremony,

occupants of the canoe, heard a roaring noise and saw a fish-weir, similar to those used by the Bella Coola, stretching across Burke Channel, which is almost a mile and a half wide at this point. They were close to the beach and a brave man cut a passage through the obstacle. A similar trap was once seen stretching across South Bentinck Arm. 787 534

An unusual apparition may be regarded as an omen of death. For example, not many years ago a young half-breed saw a motor-boat moored to the bank of North Bentinck Arm with an eagle seated in the stern. He ran his own motor-boat towards it, but as he approached the eagle became a man. Then as he drew still nearer, never taking his eyes off the other boat, it, with its occupant, sank beneath the water, without leaving so much as a ripple. On relating the incident to his father, the latter recognized it as an omen of death. Six months later the half-breed's sister died, thus confirming his father's prognostication. 787 763 [811]

SUPERNATURAL AID GRANTED TO THE UNFORTUNATE

Experiences such as have been cited in the last section are regarded as of possible, and not infrequent occurrence at the present time. On the other hand, supernatural aid granted to those in misfortune, though it is the theme of many stories, is not considered as likely to happen now. The Bella Coola believe the narratives to be chronicles of actual events, and base their conceptions of many supernatural beings on their characteristics as therein described. There is no ceremonial significance attached to any of these stories; they may be, and are told by anyone, frequently for entertainment. Unquestionably, there is a feeling that the moral brought out in each tale is of value in educating the young people, though this point is never emphasized. 787 538 [849]

Supernatural aid granted to an unfortunate person is termed *[illegible]*. Power so obtained cannot be transmitted by the recipient, although memory of the experience is 787 579 [536]

787 occasionally presented as the theme of a sacred dance. The term is also somewhat loosely applied to any instance of supernatural help. The reason for the receipt of power is often attributed to the strong supernatural elements of the favoured one, or to his having made himself agreeable to supernatural beings by the observance of ceremonial chastity or other propitiatory means. A few individuals assert that there is a tendency for supernatural aid to follow certain ancestral families, but such a belief is not general.

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The following story is typical of the kind of assistance granted although no clear picture can be presented except through the juxtaposition—a number of different tales, such as are given in the following chapter.

THE GOOD FORTUNE OF *[illegible]*

Not long after the earth was first populated there were living at [illegible], near [illegible], two Bella Bella men, [illegible] and [illegible], with their wives, relatives, and slaves. [illegible]'s son, [illegible], fell a victim to the virulent disease, [illegible], which causes the face of the sufferer to swell and his flesh to rot. When the case appeared hopeless, his father called his herald to tell the people to abandon [illegible], and to leave the dying youth alone. Accordingly they removed the planks from the houses, packed them on canoes with all the food and clothing from the village and went away, leaving the unfortunate [illegible] alone in his misery. Only an old slave woman took pity on him; before she left she hid some glowing embers and frayed cedar-bark in a large clam-shell [illegible].

[illegible] wept bitterly after his relatives departed, but presently he dried his tears and set about making the best of his position. He uncovered the clam-shell and blew the embers into a fire. Then he made a hammer with which he built a rude shelter. A diet of clams at first satisfied him, but before long he made a hook in hopes of catching some trout. He went up the river to a suitable spot, dropped in his baited hook and almost immediately felt a bite. He hauled up his line eagerly, but it was only a worthless bull-head. Angrily he pulled out the hook and threw the fish back into the water. Almost immediately there was a bite; again he drew up his line only to find as before that it was a bullhead, which he hurled back into the river. This happened twice more, until, discouraged at hooking only four useless fish, he wrapped his head type of dance differs from all other Bella Coola ones, since no inherited prerogative is required. Years ago such exhibitions were common, although curing shamans were rare. 756* 556

The usual time for a shaman's performance is at the conclusion of the *kusiut* season, though one is sometimes held prior to that period if the would-be performer fears that the food which he has stored up for the event is likely to be frozen. [776]

When he decides to give a dance, the shaman first summons the singers to his house and teaches them a song of his own composition. Theoretically both text and tune should have been received from his supernatural benefactor, but many performers undoubtedly employ songs used by shaman ancestors which they have chanced to remember. Another device is to describe a supernatural being seen in a dream. In some cases there is deliberate deception, but in most the performer persuades himself that he has received supernatural authorization. The texts are full of obscure allusions, a river, for example, is spoken of as swift running water. Often a man will treasure a song for years, before collecting the wealth necessary to use it publicly, with the social prestige attached. A shaman always obtains a name from his supernatural benefactor, but if a man merely uses a face observed in a dream, this is impossible, so he adopts the designation of some deceased shaman, soon convincing himself that it was uttered by the apparition. Others will probably remember this name, hence suspicions may easily be aroused concerning the authenticity of the performance, but it is not customary to voice them. The singers repeat the song which they have just heard, and continue doing so until they have mastered it. Sometimes they compose further songs themselves for the performer. During the practising, those who are not *kusiut* are expelled from the house. A shaman is a person who has come in contact with the supernatural; hence he is akin to the members of the society who, therefore, support him during his rite.[9] A herald is sent out 539 756* 556 [195] [553] [189] 756* 556 [578] [203] such a ceremony, that is, if he is validating his name, the gifts must be valuable. On later occasions, irrespective of whether it is the same trick or another that is performed, the presents will be of small value. Goods so given are not returnable. After dancing, a shaman wears his collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark all summer, in fact until he rids himself of his supernatural endowment by the performance of a *kusiut* rite the following winter. 756 * 554 [292]

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[9] Theoretically, a shaman need not be a *kusiut*, but visitations usually come only to those of religious and imaginative temperaments, who are in the majority of cases already members of the society.

Thus there is close inter-dependence of shaman and *kusiut* dances. On any later occasion, at a ceremony when songs of all types are being sung, if the singers hear one the tunes of those used at the ritual just described, the shaman dances to them. This is said to "cure" him, as if the power within him was a source of danger. [779] [533] [535]

The following are examples of the conjuring tricks performed, most of them done by the shaman *Nistsuamlais*, a relative of an informant, who was able to learn the methods employed. 756 * 789

On one occasion *Nistsuamlais* prepared two boxes, apparently the ordinary wooden sort used for cooking; across each he arranged a diagonal cross-piece so that the receptacle contained two watertight compartments. Previous to the performance, *Nistsuamlais* poured water, dyed red with the bark of the alder, into one section of one of the boxes, and put eagle down in one of the compartments of the other. When the time came to carry out the rite he asked an accomplice, another shaman, to bring some water and pour it into his box. This was done, the assistant taking care to put it into the empty half, not into that which contained the dyed water. *Nistsuamlais* shook the box and poured out some of the liquid to prove that it really was water, and then drank. The spectators, unaware of the cross-piece, did not notice that he did so from the corner opposite to that from which he had poured the water. He had, of course, drunk the dyed fluid. *Nistsuamlais* cried out that what he had swallowed was paining him, and pretended to vomit the red water, much to the surprise of the

756 755 782 *

shaman pours the grease on the central fire, and throws on it also the figures and some dried salmon. Thus propitiated, it is believed that the dead will be more likely to allow the sickness to be sucked forth.

756 556 [779] *

Shamans from the dead perform conjuring feats and dramatic performances of the same type as ordinary shamans. Until he gives his first dance a newly created shaman is known as a *kus*, the same word that is used for a *kusiut* initiate, and during this period he wears the shaman's collar of intertwined dyed and undyed cedar-bark. If he is wealthy and influential, a shaman will repeat his dance every fourth year. Such a performance can be held at any season, although the usual time is after the *kusiut* ceremonies. The dramatic representations are of scenes witnessed in the land below, though sometimes they are done in a reverse manner, following the practice of the dead in doing things oppositely. Thus one shaman reported that the ghosts wore very long blankets, but when he danced he wore one that came only to his hips. The method of singing is the same as that employed by ordinary shamans, but one whose power is derived from the dead dances with head bent downwards, his free hand pointing to the ground with first finger extended. Also his cry of "mam, mam, mam," uttered at intervals with a deep cadence, differs from that used by ordinary shamans. A dance always terminates with the distribution of food to validate the ceremony.

[796]

[535]

756 755 [illegible] *

Like ordinary shamans, those from the dead cannot transmit their power. At death their songs are not lost, unless they choose to give them to a friend who is also a shaman from the dead. This is obviously contrary to the theoretical belief that all songs have been obtained during visitations, but is not at all contrary to the Bella Coola practice of having the singers assist the visionaries in "remembering" their visions.

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The following tale, although drawn from the distant past, is a typical illustration of one of the many ways in which shamanistic power is received from the dead.[1]

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[1] A few stories of similar type have been included in vol. I, [illegible] the life of the body, and others are grouped together in the next chapter.

and those who have knowledge of them are sorcerers. Even a man of this kind is not outside the pale of society unless he practises indiscriminately; members of the doctor society, for example, frequently employ one to kill an individual who has offended against their regulations (I, p. 540). A man is regarded as a sorcerer not on account of his knowledge but on account of the ends to which he applies it. 754 [755 756 788 578]

Closely related to, if not identical with, the belief that certain consequences follow certain acts, is the conviction that the infraction of ritual prohibitions brings disaster. There are many such taboos, for so they may be called. Though most important at the critical periods of life, puberty, pregnancy, while observing ceremonial chastity, and so forth, there are many which must be obeyed at all times. 776

Restrictions pertaining to the rites and regulations at birth and death have already been described. Like magical acts, these often verge on the religious owing to the belief that disregard offends supernatural beings. On the whole, however, it seems as if most infractions bring their own punishment without intervention of higher powers, a concept which throws taboos into the category of magic rather than of religion, with the ever-present proviso that the two cannot be separated entirely from one another. With these may be considered a number of ritual acts connected with fishing and hunting in which, though the element of propitiation is not absent, it is outweighed by the performance of definite rites. Finally, there have been included in this chapter a number of unimportant beliefs, the psychology of which cannot be analysed. [784] [788]

What is the basis of these rites defined as Medicine, Magic, and Taboo? As already described, the Bella Coola either do not explain their origin and function, or merely state that *Alquntam* is responsible, as he is for every activity of life. This is unsatisfactory because many which, viewed scientifically, have neither curative nor causative power, produce the desired end. A child who has been "made" a carpenter during infancy, usually grows up to be proficient in that profession; the person 754 779 778

753 of water in which had been boiled eight splinters from a coffin. She would have obtained two from each side, and two from each end, in each case inserting the point of a crooked knife to pry loose a fragment of the wood, and then pulling it off in the same direction as the sun travels. It would have been immaterial from which corpse the four had been taken, but T would have been careful to move around the coffin from east to south to west to north, corresponding to the course of the sun.

It is believed that no one has now the ability to use this cure.

Sorcery

754 [624] Among the curative medicines of which knowledge has been handed down in various families for generations are secret means of killing. Every sorcerer must have such a possession, but he is not so branded unless he begins to exercise his powers for anti-social purposes. [372] For example, if it be known that a certain individual is able to cause death, the members of the kusiut society are eager to admit him to their group, so that his ability will be at their disposal to punish anyone who breaks their regulations. [628] Likewise, if a chief decides that a certain man should die, the power of his thoughts may suffice to cause the death, but the desired end will be effected more certainly by requesting aid from the owner of a means of killing. [752] Such an individual is frequently a shaman who is only too glad of an opportunity to exhibit his powers. The following methods of execution are said to have been employed socially, that is, with the connivance or at the request of chiefs or the members of the kusiut society:

(a) The executioner crouches for four successive nights on the roof of the victim's house. If the latter suspects what is to take place, he may endeavour to escape by remaining awake which renders the crouching powerless. It is said that no one has been able to remain sleepless for more than three nights which gives the killer his opportunity.

2: McIlwraith NE6 Bellacoola NE6

575, 796

/For texts and comments on songs used in kusiut rites see category 116, pp. 305-331./

2: McIlwraith
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NE6 Bellacoola NE6

/For a discussion of the kusiut society, including its ritual and origin myths, see category 116, pp. 1-271./

533 in the following examples. The subdivisions as called out by the announcer are separated by vertical lines and, where possible, a translation of each is given. The sounds of wordless choruses were not recorded. The different types are arranged according to order of mention in this monograph.

Sisaok Songs

533 575 946 The themes of *sisaok* songs differ according to the purpose for which they have been composed. For instance, when a young person is being initiated into the society, the words usually refer to his crest, the *tatwinam* which brought his song; at potlatches, to the goods which will soon be given away and the phrasing is often grandiloquent; sometimes the two concepts are combined. These differences are clearly shown in the examples which follow. A few *sisaok* songs have been preserved for generations, but most are newly composed for each winter season and the old ones forgotten. Since few rites of this type have been carried out during recent years, it was difficult to obtain complete versions.

533 *Song Used by [illegible] (a) of Kimsquit when Initiated into the Society (b)*

A [illegible] Go out	[illegible] ye citizens	[illegible](c) to see	[illegible] the arrival

[illegible]
of my supernatural being.

[WORDLESS CHORUS] (d)

B [illegible] That is what	[illegible] brought down	[illegible] my grandfather(e)	[illegible] and has left for me(f)
[illegible] Be careful	[illegible] my children	[illegible] my children	[illegible] it will spear you
[illegible] what has come to me	[illegible] my crest(g).		

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C [illegible] Shame him	[illegible] the unsuccessful one(h)	[illegible] the unsuccessful one.	[illegible] He desires

593*

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible], a Man of Salmon House(a)

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
Whence come those(b) | who were too late?

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 9c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Refers to guests at the potlatch.

Fragment of a Song Used for [illegible] of Kimsquit(a)

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I am happy at seeing you(b), | I am happy at seeing you, | good-bye(c).

No more of this song is remembered.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.
(b) Presumably refers to the dancer's *[illegible]*, Beaver, obtained from his mother's mother, a Kitlobe woman.
(c) This word is said to be in the Haida language.

[424]

Song(a) Used for [illegible](b) of Kimsquit(c)

A *[illegible]* | *[illegible](d)*
I make two of myself(e). | Raven(f).

[illegible] | *[illegible]*
I make a huge whale of myself, | Raven,

[illegible] | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
at the place of lucky finds (g). | People will dismember me, | I make a huge whale of myself(h).

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
I stand upon | my point(i); | I cry out loudly(j)

[illegible]
with respect to my position as chief.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

C *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]* | *[illegible]*
Go yourselves! | Pick out what you want! | My house | is open(k).

(a) It is doubtful whether or not this song should be included in this section. It was used by a professional warrior at a potlatch but, like all others with his

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539 prerogative, he was debarred from seclusion in the back-room and consequent

[701] initiation as a [illegible]. The exact relationship between warriors and members of the [illegible] society is obscure.

[575] [424] [177] (b) *Lawaiyus-t'* is a Kitkatla name from the north. The first owner moved to Kitkatla where he married, and the designation was transmitted to his descendants. One of the latter migrated to Kimsquit, where the name has since been handed down from generation to generation though its original source has not been forgotten.

(c) Recorded as song VII D 26, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. This song is said to have been used about 1870.

(d) Vocative form.

(e) That is: I double my importance. This kind of expression is popular among chiefs.

[424] (f) *Qoni* is one of the ancestral names of Raven, the dancer's crest. In thus addressing the bird, he called attention to his ancestral history.

[262] (g) The home of the first *Lawaiyus-t'* was near a point where dead whales often drifted ashore. The dancer likens himself to a whale on which people will dine.

(h) Such repetition is not uncommon. The dancer implies that his wealth will be divided in a manner similar to the cutting up of a whale's carcass.

(i) A promontory owned by the first *Lawaiyus-t'*.

(j) That is: I summon people [to a feast.]

(k) An invitation not to be taken too literally.

Xe·tla Songs

The tunes of *xe·tla* songs are believed to have been handed down, unaltered, for many generations. The words, too, are frequently ancient although the singers sometimes make slight changes so that they will be more suitable for the chief in whose honour they are being sung. Owing to the decline of cere-

[796] monials in which they were used, few *xe·tla* songs are now remembered.

Xe·tla Song Used by Sinaqstl of Kimsquit(a)

[727]

A *[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*Di [illegible]*	*[illegible]*
Come!	See!	The chief	a man stands in the bow(b)

di [illegible]
of those who travelled everywhere.

[WORDLESS CHORUS]

B *[illegible]*	*[illegible]*	*[illegible]*
He did so,	my pattern(c),	whence I came(d);

593*

[illegible] | [illegible]
be climbed and returned | [illegible].

[illegible]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 29a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. [729]

(b) A sign of victory, eagerly watched for when a war-party is returning.

(c) A reference to W'ina, one of Sinaqeld's first ancestors in the beginning of time. He made a journey to the Heaven, returning from there with canoe and paddles decorated with sun designs. The exploits of his descendants are compared with those of his parents, that is, his first fathers. Such references to family history are sources of pride to the chief being honoured. [773]

(d) That is: From whom I am descended.

Fragment of a Xs·ða Song(a) Used by [illegible] of Kitwanga(b)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Presently he will be ashamed | that chief | if I go

[illegible]
my copper.

(a) Both tune and theme are said to be of Kwakiutl origin. [177]

(b) Recorded as song VII D 24b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

Fragment of a Xs·ða Song Used by Sinaqeld of Kitwanga(a)

A [illegible] | yaa (b) [illegible] | [illegible]
They are smiling. | greetings to the out-stretched glass! | They drink

[illegible]
the food of white men(c).

[illegible]

B and C have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 41b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) Literally: Hello!

(c) This song was used at a potlatch where the fare provided was whisky. The tune is said to be very ancient although new words were composed for the occasion. [556] [279]

A'alk Songs

A'alk songs somewhat resemble naxnok ones and, like them, are difficult to collect completely. Parts of many are remem- [575] [796]

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lowed, but the rites in which they were used have been practically discontinued for several years so that unabridged versions are almost impossible to obtain. All themes vary according to the ceremonies in which they are used. For potlatches, they consist of incidents from ancestral myths, whereas for non-ceremonial occasions following the [illegible] season, they deal with current events. The following examples are divided into these two classes.

THEMES DRAWN FROM ANCESTRAL MYTHS

[illegible] Song Used for Potlatches, a Rite of [illegible]

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
They give valuable counsel, | my goods(b), | they formulate their own opinion

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
concerning to whom of those seated in my house I shall give presents(c).

[[illegible] omitted]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I speak boldly | of everything(d). | Through them(e)

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I become elevated, | my power to give potlatches (is) | my male relatives(f).

[[illegible] omitted]

C [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Presently I shall stand | within the box | at the corner door(g),

[illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
where found is all(h) | the names obtained | of [illegible](h).

(a) Recorded as song VII D 31a, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) That is: The goods which I am about to distribute advise me. This statement is not to be taken literally.

(c) It was impossible to obtain a translation of each subdivision.

(d) Refers to the dancer's many prerogatives.

(e) Refers to his male relatives.

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(f) The dancer had obtained several prerogatives from ancestors, traced patrilineally.

(g) A reference to the dancer's origin myth (I, p. 320). The house of his first forefather, [illegible], had its door in a back corner instead of the centre front.

(h) That is: Whence were distributed at potlatches.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. The tune is said to have been handed down for more than [illegible] years. 533*

(b) That is: [illegible]

(c) It is not remembered which chief may have held up to the names of the following.

(d) That is: He does not act in accordance with the traditions of the name he uses.

(e) That is: The dancer is feeble. This refers to another inspired dancer who, owing to his poverty, had not performed for many years. It is not known whether the song [illegible] the same individual as the one derided in the first part of the song. [illegible]

(f) [illegible]

(g) That is: He, too, was a inspired.

(h) The ancestor from whom the prerogative was derived.

(i) That is: By virtue of my inspired ability. This appears to be a departure from the usual theme of a mocking song.

Inspired Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit Dancer(a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Please do not sleep, | [illegible](b), | listen to your

[illegible]
friend(c).

[illegible]

B [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
I alone | can [illegible](d), | is increasing

[illegible]
my prerogative(e).

[illegible]

C The third part has been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 20c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) It is not uncommon in [illegible] songs for the dancer to address himself in this way. [575]

(c) That is: Be ready to listen to [illegible] at one of your ceremonies.

(d) The dancer is deriding another inspired who has not performed for a long time. [illegible]

(e) This song differs slightly from the usual mocking type in lack of specific reference to the person derided; lack of reference to an ancestral myth, however, shows that it was not composed for a potlatch. [illegible]

Song of a Kimsquit [illegible](a)

A [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
That is he, | the impostor, | the child | of the potlatch(b).

[illegible]

$533 *B* [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible] | [illegible]
Go within | my house, | I am giving food | to my friends.

[REPEATED TWICE]

C The third part of this song has been forgotten.

[614 / 824 / 635] (a) Recorded as song VII D 20b, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard. It is said that this song has been handed down for generations in an ancestral family; they now regard it as a family possession and would consider its use by others to be stealing.

[609] (b) Many years ago a ordinary Bella Bella used to paddle to Kimsquit almost every year. He was dressed like a chief and had the airs of one, so that his hosts assumed him to be a person of importance. It was later found that he was a poor man. The mocking of foreigners is a common theme of *a'alk* songs.

$593 ●575 578

a'alk'a *Song Used for Xomsmlaix(a)*

A [illegible] | [illegible]
He has fallen so that his buttocks are uppermost, | Hail(b)!

[illegible] | [illegible]
He has come to hurt, | that *kusiut*(c).

[REPEATED TWICE]

B and *C*. The second and third parts have been forgotten.

(a) Recorded as song VII D 3c, National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) A mockingly deferential salutation used in *a'alk* songs describing the *kusiut*.

(c) *Xomsmlaix* was an *a'alk* who is said to have seen a Cannibal *kusiut* when the latter was supposed to be in the land above. A song was composed about the incident, and the above fragment has been remembered for many years. *Xomsmlaix* was initiated into the *kusiut* society; see vol. II, p. [illegible].

$533 575 796 203 As already described, whenever a dancer is performing, the women utter a peculiar high-pitched drone and the heralds call out remarks suitable to the occasion. A phonograph record[9] was made of the drone, followed by a cry suitable for either *sisaok* or *a'alk* dances. The following words are virtually sung:

Yaleeldimut | *[illegible]*
Do not err, | chiefs.

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[9] Recorded as song VII D 29c, National Museum of Canada.

8

McIlwraith, T. F. (1922-1924) 1948
[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

[illegible] Songs

The texts of *[illegible]* songs are fragmentary and unsatisfactory. The rites in which they were used have long been discontinued and, since they were never ceremonially important, there was nothing to impress either tunes or words on the minds of the singers. In addition, it is probable that the songs were always less carefully constructed than those of other types. 538* [749]

Song Used for [illegible](a), a Kimsquit Man(b)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Be happy,	ye people,	it is about to come,

[illegible]	[illegible]
that hidden one(c),	Beaver.

[illegible]

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Beaver(d)!	Beaver!	[illegible](e).

(a) This word means "Beaver." It is most unlikely that it was the dancer's own designation, more probably a nickname used in connection with the [illegible] rite. [551]

(b) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Louis [illegible].

(c) This signifies a person who is hidden ceremonially, such as a [illegible] dancer who has gone to the land above. The dancer appeared to be a Cannibal and the rite in which this song was used served as a kind of rehearsal. [746] [575]

(d) This refrain replaces a second and third part of the song itself.

(e) A meaningless series of choral ejaculations.

Song Used for a Kimsquit Woman(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
They [illegible]	of Fawn(b),	when they were playing	long ago(c).

(a) Recorded as song VII D [illegible], National Museum of Canada; singer, Jim Pollard.

(b) The theme being of a fawn, the dancer wore a deer-skin. [595]

(c) As in many *[illegible]* songs, the words refer to an ancient story, probably one describing the adventures of deer and wolves; see vol. II, p. [illegible].

Song Used for [illegible], a Kimsquit Man(a)

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
Run in all directions,	ye dogs,	for the first time	it is there

[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]
he brings much food(b),	go below the house	!(c)	!(d).

[776] [192]

CHAPTER [illegible]

WARFARE*

General Observations — Specific Accounts

General Observations

721 PRIOR to the establishment of British rule, there was con-
648 siderable warfare among the coastal tribes of British
Columbia. Long-continued struggles leading to the extermi-
nation of one or other of the participants were unknown, but
there were constant raids, counter-raids, forays, and attacks.
These were never so continuous as on the Plains, where martial
achievements were regarded more highly than on the coast,
but it appears probable that at least several villages of the
Bella Coola were embroiled every few years. Nevertheless,
[796] war was secondary in importance to ceremonial rites. During
the winter, peace reigned and members of hostile tribes were
[554] even received as guests at some dances. At potlatches they
might be subjected to insults, later to be avenged in the same
manner or by active hostility, but seldom was actual violence
offered either to envoys or guests. The symbol of peace and
726 friendliness was eagle down; the occupants of a canoe who
825 bore an invitation to a potlatch, or who were guests them-
778 selves, used to blow this substance up into the air whenever
another craft approached, and it was incumbent on the latter
[486] to veer over to the other side of the channel. Eagle down was
[578] considered to be so sacred that when two men were quarrelling
[627] a chief could stop them by blowing some of it over their heads.
721 In winter, hostilities were prevented by ceremonies, and in
summer the people were usually busy laying in supplies of food;
consequently, it was only in the late spring that fighting was
● [575] at all common. Even then the dictates of ceremonial life were
[622] not entirely forgotten; no *kusiut* novice went to war and

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*Warfare having long been discontinued, the past tense is used throughout this chapter.

[illegible]

[illegible]

seldom a chief who had given many potlatches. Successful [721] raiders rarely slew such an one; his position placed him above [372] the dangers to which lesser men were subject. [663]

Raids appear never to have been carried out solely for the purpose of giving warriors opportunities to display their prowess, or of permitting young men to prove their mettle. Scarcity of food was the commonest cause for forays when, of course, the victims were chosen for their accumulated supplies. The Kwakiutl especially, lacking abundance of salmon, often [648] attacked the Bella Coola. Even more dreaded were the Kitkatla, the most warlike people of the central coast, who used to raid for many miles to carry off slaves whom they sold or traded for other commodities. Trespassing, too, was a [615] source of friction which often led to hostility. In such a case, the offenders were usually held up to ridicule at potlatches, [626] and the irritation gradually increased until wiped out in bloodshed. Members of a tribe which had suffered from a raid [556] prompted by any of these motives would await a suitable opportunity for retaliation; this in turn would be avenged, and a vendetta often ensued lasting for generations. As already [688] described, a ceremonial error brought punishment from a neighbouring tribe; this was the only motive which caused [628] fighting between different Bella Coola villages. In the last century there was a struggle of this kind between the people of *Stuie* and *[illegible]* in which the former were victorious and [727] took many slaves who were later ransomed. When ill-luck had dogged a village or a group of villages for some time, the [777] inhabitants sometimes endeavoured to wipe out their misfortunes by attacking another tribe.

The teeming salmon at Bella Coola, Kimsquit, and *Talio*, made it unnecessary for the Bella Coola to wage aggressive war for which they were unfitted both on account of their [642] unmilitary attitude and their lack of central authority. On the other hand, they were tempting victims for more belligerent [648] neighbours. The narrow Bella Coola valley, however, far removed from the open sea, and densely populated, was difficult [133] to attack [161]

525 he is wrong, he pays them. It is said that in former times each stick used to be painted with a special device, and that each had its own name; even now they are beautifully made and highly polished by much passing from hand to hand. The Carriers [71] play the same game but use beaver teeth instead of sticks. Formerly it was not uncommon for a man to bet his goods, his wives and children, and even himself at this game. If he lost, [567] the persons so wagered became slaves of the victor unless [572] redeemed by their friends. Women, too, gambled freely; in fact, neophytes recently admitted into the Kusiut society were the only ones to whom this pastime was forbidden.

526 Of actual games, the one most commonly played is [illegible]. As many as eight or ten contestants can take part, each providing himself with one, two, or three stones,[1] pecked down to the proper shape. Each is about six inches in length, three inches wide, flat on one side, and oval on the other, and rounded at either end. Before the coming of the white man, when the Bella Coola habitually used stone, it is said that one of these could be made in a few minutes. A mark is set up, and the first player throws his missile in the air, endeavouring to make it come to rest as close as possible to the target. The game is usually played on an open space near the village, but even on comparatively smooth ground there is great chance of bouncing and the thrower must gauge this possibility as well as have correct direction and distance. The second player likewise throws his stone, trying to land it nearer the target, or to knock away his rival's. In so doing, the latter, lying on the ground, is often broken, which puts its owner out of the game for the time being. When all have thrown, the one who has come nearest the mark is the winner. Sometimes each contestant throws two or more stones, and sometimes sides are chosen. Large numbers of broken gaming stones can be found [172] near every old village site, confirming the statements of the older men and women concerning the universality of the sport

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[1] Likewise called [illegible], a name said either to be derived from that of a [illegible], or that the latter is derived from it.

2: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948
NE6 Bellacoola NE6

[857] rather than hunting birds and small animals with miniature bows and arrows, or snaring them in nooses of grass or string. Little girls make playhouses in which they cook wonderful meals of berries, with perhaps the addition of a wooden fish. On the whole, however, the children do not enter into play as boisterously as white boys and girls, nor do they seem to derive as much pleasure from it. In former times, when clothing was [illegible] [241] scanty, small lads used to delight in picking nettles and beating one another with the stinging branches; this must have caused considerable pain, but it was a point of honour not to cry out, and anyone, perhaps caught unaware, who showed discomfort, [524] was laughed at as a coward. Both boys and girls are fond of swinging, and even adult women sometimes find time to enjoy themselves by swaying to and fro at the end of a rope.

Young Bella Coola do not have as many toys as white children, and none of them is complex. Some girls have crude [illegible] [233] wooden dolls, though elaborate figurines are reserved for use in *kusiut* dances. Perhaps the most cherished plaything is a small puppy or, in recent years, a kitten, though the unfortunate animal is handled and mauled without consideration. A good carpenter may make for his son a wooden top or a bull-roarer, to the envy of his less fortunate friends. Both types of toys are said to be used in [776] *[illegible]* and at some *kusiut* dances the masked figures carry them to play with.

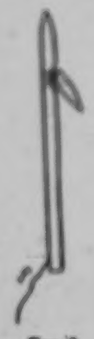

Fig. 2.
"Toy spear."

[illegible] [125] There is one game, *sleli*, which the salmon are said to delight to watch, and which is accordingly played by boys as soon as the first spring salmon have been disposed of with fitting rites. Each makes for himself, or is given by his father, a wooden spear with a projecting barb, fastened as shown in the accompanying sketch (see Fig. 2). A hoop of branches is made and thrown into a pool of stagnant, or slow-moving water, on each side of which stands a rival group of competitors. At a signal, all throw their spears simultaneously, with the intention of passing them through the ring, so that the barb of each will [illegible] McIlwraith, B-1 ([illegible]) 1948

[illegible] BellaCoola [illegible]

APPENDIX [illegible]

BELLA COOLA-ENGLISH VOCABULARY

DURING the period in the field, the writer's attention was devoted entirely to sociological and religious investigation, and no attempt was made either to analyse the intricacies of the Bella Coola language or to record texts. This part of the monograph consists only of words which were collected incidentally, and no effort was made to compile an exhaustive list, or even a representative one. This explains the preponderance of proper names, and the large number of terms connected with rituals of all kinds, some of which are rapidly disappearing from common usage. Many of these were used by the writer continually in gathering technical data, and their interpretation is unquestionably correct. A few words, however, were not rechecked on different occasions, or from different informants, so that some errors may have crept in, either in translation or in recording. No terms have been employed of which the writer has any real doubt, but the same accuracy is not claimed for this vocabulary as for the monograph as a whole. Lack of knowledge of Bella Coola grammar made it impracticable to utilize the words recorded in the songs, since many of these include affixes and other structural elements that affect the root. 128 192* [114] [115]

In listing the words alphabetically, the following arbitrary system of letter order has been followed and all symbols have been disregarded, for example, a and á are not separated.

[illegible] follows a.
[illegible] follows a.
[illegible] follows e.
[illegible] follows k.
ł follows l.
[illegible] follows o.

A

a'ula: 1—Loosely organized society of which the members can perform four types of dance. 192* [575]
2—Member of the society.
[illegible]: Man mentioned in an ancient story.
[illegible]: Chief of sea-lions in the beginning of time.
[illegible]

[illegible] (1922-1924) 1948

[illegible] Bellacoola [illegible]

192

[illegible]: Supernatural being sent by [illegible] to meet [illegible].

[illegible], "One Who Is a Guest": The term applied to a youth whose father, a chief, will eventually give a potlatch to start him on the path to social importance though he has not yet done so. Such a lad is served ceremonially at every feast. [356]

[illegible]: Abalone-shell covered stick used by one of the first settlers in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Word of uncertain meaning often appended to [illegible] as complete term for the first night of a Kusiut dance. [575]

[illegible], "A Dragging Across" (as one does with a heavy log): The term applied to the transmission of a name from a wife to her husband either at marriage or later, when being repurchased. [425] [533]

[illegible]: Toasted food of any kind. [262]

[illegible]: Ancestral name of a [illegible] man. [252]

[illegible]: Preferred, adjective.

[illegible]: Those who perform in some marriage dances.

[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time. [575]

[illegible], "Weapons of War": The term applied to the presents distributed by the groom and his relatives to the bride and her party in securing her hand. [431]

[illegible]: Gifts given in secret, some time beforehand, by the father of the future groom to the father of the future bride. [514]

[illegible]: Hooked.

[illegible]: Immoral supernatural woman; synonym for [illegible].

[illegible]: One of the men who came to earth at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Totem-pole carried by the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Lying position with legs close together such as is maintained for four days by an adolescent girl, and also by a widow or a widower. [516]

[illegible]: Sacred song in fast time. [533]

[illegible]: Rapid beating of time during which a dancer does not try to move his feet in rhythm with it. [535]

[illegible]: Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kusiut dancer whose disguise becomes apparent through an accident.

[illegible]: Synonym for [illegible], one of the days of a potlatch, probably that following the appearance of a masked representation of the [illegible]. [556]

[illegible]: 1—Night-time.
2—That part of a Cannibal dance when songs are prepared in the middle of the night.

[illegible]: Come, imperative singular.

[illegible]: 1—One of [illegible]'s sons in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first women to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Central seat behind the fire.

[illegible]: Hammer with handle for pounding stakes for fish-weirs. [412]

[illegible]: Mountain on north side of the lower Bella Coola.

[illegible]: One who estimates the passage of time by watching the movements of the sun. [805]

[illegible], "The Devourer of Meat Killed by Another": Term used by hunters to Wolf. [825]

#192

[illegible]: [illegible] village.
[illegible], "One of the Tied-up Posts": Name given to a kid whose [illegible] are tied [illegible] to [illegible].
[436] [illegible]: Refusal to lend to an outsider a family prerogative such as the employment of marriage dances.
[374] [illegible]: Meal served when a chief's fellow villagers are called in, preparatory to the commencement of his coming potlatch.
[illegible]: Name of a female shaman.
[illegible], "The Opening of the Sky":
1—One of the first men to settle at Kimsquit in the beginning of time.
2—One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
3—Name of a [illegible] chief.
[illegible]: Kusiut name of a Bella Coola man.
[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at [illegible] in the beginning of time.
[375] [illegible]: Kusiut having the ability to enter the back-room and [illegible] initiates concealed there. The function probably [illegible] the employment of [illegible].
[illegible]: Hidden, supernatural beings who [illegible] supernatural Cannibals.
[393] [illegible]: Frenzied hurling of sticks.
[illegible]: Wife of [illegible], the supernatural hunter.
[illegible]: Supernatural [illegible] supports.
[illegible]: Husband of [illegible]; he is known only in Kimsquit.
[373] [illegible]: Kusiut dance of mystery.
[illegible]: Visit paid to a sick person, especially the coming of foreign guests to a mourning ceremony.
[374] [illegible]: Call used by heralds when summoning to a [illegible] ceremony.
[425] [374] [illegible]: The "Dragging Across" of a name, crest, or other intangible prerogative from wife to husband either at marriage or later as a [illegible] of the wife.
[862] [illegible]: To drag a heavy burden.
[illegible]: Cranberries mixed with [illegible] grease.
[821] [illegible]: Visit to his [illegible] by a [illegible] initiate.
[illegible], "Facing Both Ways": Second moon after the winter solstice.
[illegible], "The [illegible] Time": Hushed [illegible] of the [illegible] after [illegible] of a Cannibal.
[544] [illegible]: Adoption of a person resembling the deceased to replace the latter.
[illegible]: 1—Supernatural being who revives mortals.
2—Name received by a shaman from this being.

[illegible]: Food.
[425] [illegible], "Food Supplies": The term applied to the giving of the use of land at marriage.
[illegible], "[illegible]": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.
[756] [illegible]: Shaman's collar of dyed and undyed cedar-bark, arranged in alternate strands.
[882] [illegible]: Guarded, term applied to a girl secluded at adolescence.
[825] [illegible]: Supernatural name of [illegible], applied to those brought by the first people in the beginning of time.
[illegible], "A Glance Downwards": Name given to an [illegible] man in the beginning of time.

[illegible]

[illegible], "Left Foot": [illegible] supernatural [illegible] part of a supernatural [illegible].

[illegible]: Kimsquit [illegible] living in the last century.

[illegible]: Dentalium shell.

[illegible], "The Finished": Said concerning a kusiut who dies between initiation and his first complete dance.

[illegible]: Shell cap of green and dentalium shells worn by adolescent girls during puberty.

[illegible]: Guest, especially from afar, at a kusiut dance.

[illegible]: 1—Supernatural beings.
2—Assemblage of the people for ceremonies of different kinds, especially shamans' dances and guessing competitions in connection with the [illegible] dance.
3—Kimsquit term for the first night of a [illegible] dance.

[illegible], "It Increasing": Said of cases where a wife's relatives have given more presents to the husband's than they have received in return.

[illegible]: Place of concealment of a [illegible] dancer's person.

[illegible]: The people, especially parents; this is a polite term for indirect address.

[illegible]: Rightful location, especially the traditional position of a chief in a house.

[illegible]: Mask carved with ancestral crest.

[illegible]: 1—Moon.
2—Daughter of the first settlers at [illegible].

[illegible]: Spring salmon.

[illegible]: Spring salmon house.

[illegible]: Professional name of a kusiut novitiate.

[illegible]: Supernatural being resident at the mouth of the Bella Coola River.

[illegible]: 1—The allotment of work to kusiut in the manufacture of masks and other requirements.
2—Hence, the time when such tasks are assigned, the second evening of a kusiut dance.

[illegible], "The Rainbow Maker": Name given to the daughter of the first settlers at [illegible].

[975] [illegible] or [illegible]: That which serves as pattern, picture, or model for a kusiut ritual.

[illegible]: Second night of a potlatch.

[226] [illegible]: Artificial, pier-like structure built into a river for use in hand-net fishing.

[illegible], "Where People Go": A reflecting pool created by Raven at Kimsquit.

[illegible]: Cove near Dean Channel.

[illegible], "The Dancer Whose Only Noise-Making Instrument Is His Body": One of [illegible]'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.

[illegible]: Supernatural woman who guards [illegible].

[illegible]: 1—"The Open-Mouthed" (in the sense of open to each fresh sickness): One of [illegible]'s names and hence a designation given to shamans.
[756] 2—Name of a shaman whose powers are said to have been derived from ghosts.

[illegible]: Swift running water.

[illegible]: 1—Ranks of ordinary individuals; this term is used to distinguish them who are being initiated into the [illegible] society.
2—Something supernatural seen when awake.

[illegible]

[illegible] 192*

[illegible] [825]

[illegible] [824]

[illegible] [586]

[illegible] [415]

[illegible] [420]

[illegible] [491]

[illegible] [424]

[illegible] [412]

[illegible] [575] ●

[illegible] [756]

[illegible] [601]

[illegible] [825]

[illegible] [824]

[illegible] [413]

[illegible] [2[illegible]2]

[illegible]

192*

[illegible]: Generic term for presents given to a future bridegroom by the father of the future bride. [431] [584]

[illegible]: Supernatural being whose stomach is cut in the land above.

[illegible]: Good-bye. [576]

[illegible], "What Brings Our Food": Synonym for the supernatural being *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Designation for a series of difficult and spectacular *kusiut* dances.

[illegible]: Said to be identical with *[illegible]*, the visible object obtained by a shaman from his supernatural benefactor. [956]

Kusiut: plural, *kukusiut*; vocative, *kusiuta*; vocative plural, *kukusiuta*:

1—Society comprising those entitled to perform dramatic dances during the winter ceremonial season. [575]

2—Member of the society.

3—"The Learned One": Designation occasionally applied to a supernatural being, especially a petrified one, or to a person having power to cure the sick. [956]

[illegible]: Kimsquit female shaman living in the last century.

[illegible]: Beloved one, especially a child; this is the vocative form of the word.

[illegible]: Orphan.

[illegible]: Woman dwelling at Fort Rupert in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Smith Inlet.

[illegible]: Supernatural name of Cormorant.

[illegible]: Merganser. [825]

[illegible]: Merganser crest acquired by the first settlers at *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: Unidentified bird of which the note is an omen of death. [763]

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Bella Coola man.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a male Goose Bay Cannibal.

[illegible]: Smooth greenstone, "jadeite," such as is found on the Queen Charlotte Islands. [829]

[illegible]: Evergreen bough. [824]

[illegible]: Famous Bella Coola warrior.

[illegible]: One of the sculpins.

[illegible]: *Kusiut* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible], "The Big One": Lustful male supernatural being.

[illegible]: Man who came to earth near *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kimsquit woman.

[illegible]: Kimsquit man mentioned in an ancient story.

[illegible]: One of the first men to settle at Schooner Pass in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: Kitkatla chief living in the last century.

[illegible], "One Who Sits without Right": Name taken by a wife in consequence of slights received from her husband's relatives.

[illegible]: Influential Kwakiutl woman captured in the beginning of time by a *[illegible]* chief; the word is a synonym for *[illegible]*.

[illegible]: One of the nine supernatural siblings. [533]

[illegible]: Lullaby.

[illegible]: Archaic expression used in a string figure.

[illegible]: 1—Pen or trap in the ocean for salmon. [226]

2—Village on east side of South Bentinck Arm, not far from its head.

S: McIlwraith E-5 (1922-1924) 1948

NE6 Bellacoola NE6

192 *[illegible]*: Supernatural good luck.

821 *[illegible]*: Fog.

826 *[illegible]*: Push out.

826 *[illegible]*: Blood or menstruation.

[illegible]: Place of lucky finds, such as a point where whales drift ashore.

[illegible]: Cannibal recently returned from the land above.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

823 *[illegible]*: Mountain.

[illegible] or *[illegible]*: Salmon, generic form.

[illegible]: (Probably) viscera of an animal, orchain.

[illegible]: One of the first women to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.

179 *[illegible]*: Story, i.e., a legend which, lacking sociological significance, can be related by anyone.

[illegible]: Woman mentioned in an ancient story.

822 *[illegible]*: Bella Coola chief.

[illegible]: Darkness, anthropomorphized.

828 *[illegible]*: Auger.

[illegible]: Sun.

[illegible]: 1—One of the first men to settle at Green Bay in the beginning of time.
2—Name received by one of the first settlers at *[illegible]* in the beginning of time.

[illegible]: 1—"The Light Maker": Name of the supreme god with reference to his control of the sun.
2—Ancestral name of a Bella Coola man.
3—Full name of a Kimsquit man.
4—*[illegible]* name of a Kimsquit man.

[illegible]: 1—Daughter of the supreme god.
2—Bella Coola woman.

827 *[illegible]*: Mucus.

[illegible], "Sunny": Village in the lower Bella Coola valley.

[illegible]: Game played with miniature spears.

575 *[illegible]*: 1—Society intimately connected with chiefs.
2—Member of the society.

[illegible]: Supernatural creature somewhat resembling a double-headed salmon.

[illegible]: Shaman's name of a *[illegible]* woman.

[illegible]: Present, invisible to all but the owner, given by *[illegible]* to the one favoured.

601 *[illegible]*: Father's sister or mother's sister (in either direct or indirect address).

583 *[illegible]*: The ceremonial strength acquired by a child through the repurchase of its mother.

431 *[illegible]*: Presents given as "Food" by a bridegroom and his relatives to the bride's kinsmen when the latter come to his house on the wedding day.

585 *[illegible]*: Western dock (plant).

824 *[illegible]*: Snowberry.

[illegible]: Distribution of carpentry tasks prior to a potlatch.

[illegible], "Food Supply": Synonym for *[illegible]*, ancestral hunting-ground.

825 *[illegible]*: Porcupine.

824 *[illegible]*: Black huckleberry.

821 *[illegible]*: Eye-lashes of the supreme god, i.e., sunbeams.

614 The gens Spatsā'tlt have breakers painted on the house-front, and use
in dances the mask of a large kind of whale (k·'natc), of the crow, and of
532 the black bear.

342 The gens Tumqoā'akyas use the mask of Ōaxstalā'ma (= the sleeper)
and the eagle.

The gens Tl'ak·aumōt'ot of the Nuqk·'x'latsmx use the moon (fig. 2).

The gens Iolo'stimōt of the Tālio'mx use the raven, robin (sis'x'pasē), eagle, whale, the bird t'tsulala (goose?), and s'alladota, the flood-tide. They have sun, moon, and stars painted on the house-front, and the wasq'ota suspended from the beams of the roof (see p. 420).

The highest gens of Nūtl'x'l has the name Snut'ta (= the north wind). He has the mountain Suwā'kus surmounted by a mackerel sky, and with clouds on its sides, painted on his house-front (fig. 3). Another object belonging to his crest represents waves.

614 The children belong to the gens of either father or mother, the deci-
851 sion being left to the choice of the parents.

SECRET SOCIETIES AND THE POTLATCH.

171 The social organization, festivals, and secret societies of the Bilqula
are still more closely interrelated than they are among the Kwakiutl, and
575 must be considered in connection. We have to describe here the potlatch,
the Sisau'k·, and the Kū'siūt. The Sisau'k· corresponds to the Tlōkoa'la
of the northern Kwakiutl tribes, the Kū'siūt to the Ts'ētsaē'qa. The
Bilqula believe that the potlatch has been instituted by ten deities, nine
556 brothers and one sister, the foremost among whom is Qō'mtsīna, to whose
773 care the sunrise is intrusted. He resides with the others in a beautiful
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[532]
[575]

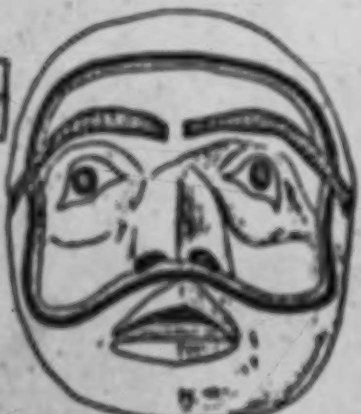


FIG. 4.—Mask representing Qō'mtsīna.

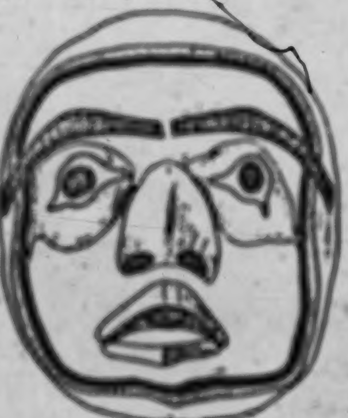


FIG. 5.—Mask representing Qōmqūmutl'āxa.

house in the far east, and cries ā! ā! every morning when the sun rises. He has to take care that the sun rises properly. The first six of these deities

are grouped in pairs, and are believed to paint their faces with designs 556
representing moon, stars, and rainbow. In the Kü'siut these deities 773
make their appearance, and are represented by masks which I have copied. 776
Qō'mtsitsa and Qōmqōmalk'otla wear the design of the full moon, indicated in the mask Qō'mtsitsa (fig. 4) by a double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. 532
Qōmqōmalk'otla has a double curved line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead, cheeks, and chin (fig. 5). Alemki'likya 575 ●
(fig. 6) and Alemalk'otla (fig. 7) wear the design of the crescent, drawn 776

Fig. 6.—Mask representing Alemki'likya.

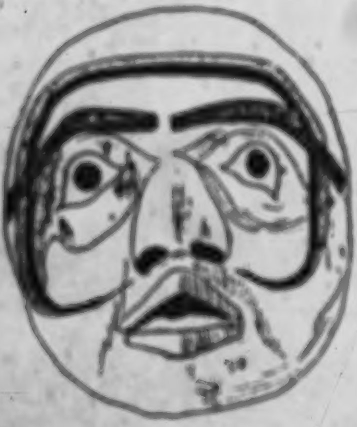
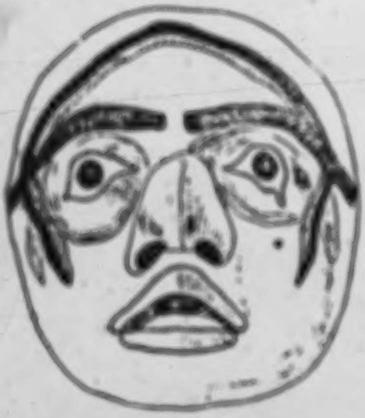


Fig. 7.—Mask representing Alemalk'otla.



in red and black, with differences similar to those between the first and second. The fifth, K'ōmk'ōmki'likya, and K'ō'mtsitsa have designs representing stars (fig. 8), both wearing the same style of mask. The seventh is K'ula'qawa, whose face represents the blossom of a salmonberry bush (fig. 9). The next in order, Kulē'lius (=who wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in black and blue (fig. 10). The ninth, At'ama'k wears on the head a mask representing a kingfisher, and is clothed in a birdskin blanket. The last of the series is a woman called Tl'ēmā'sptsitsa (=the eater), the sister of all the others. Her face is painted with a bladder filled with grease (fig. 11). She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued by the people whom she has robbed.

The Sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
gentes, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who had 773
gone out hunting met the Sisau'k·, and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned he asked the people to clean 796
their houses, and to strew them with clean sand, before he consented to enter. Then he danced the Sisau'k·, and told the people what he had seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses with

● 575 773 776 tails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man, later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Sisau'k. Besides this it is stated that the Raven gave each gens its secrets.

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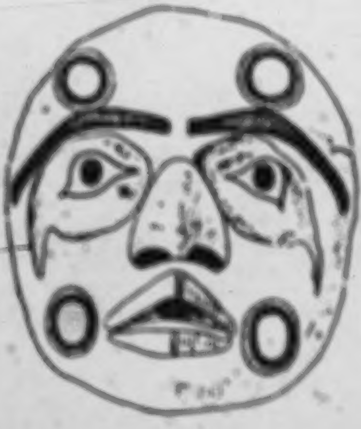
FIG. 8.—Mask representing K'oak'oak'ilaya.

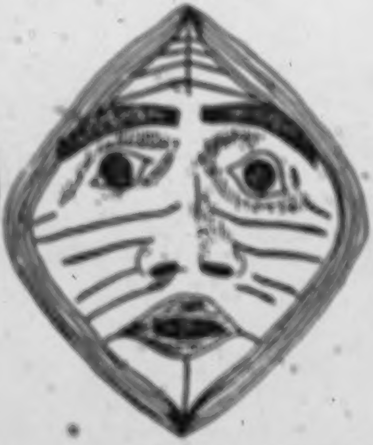
FIG. 9.—Mask representing K'ulo'qoan.

614 532 Each gens has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the Sisau'k only, and are otherwise kept a deep secret, i.e., they are the sacred possessions of each gens. All gentes, however, wear the beautiful carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the carving they represent.

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[575 776]

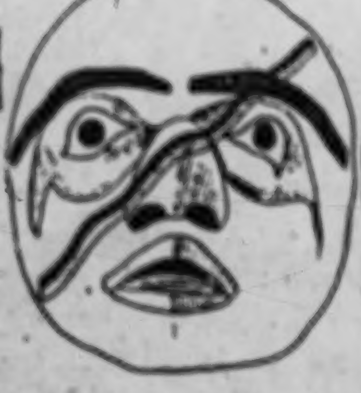
FIG. 10.—Mask representing Kole'lan.

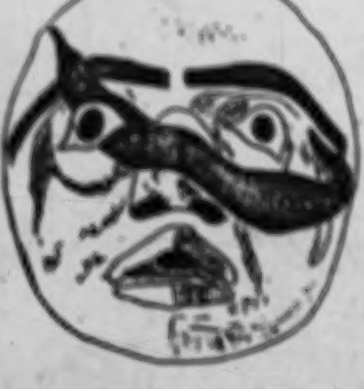
FIG. 11.—Mask representing Tl'ētsa'sp'ilāna.

[531] [292]

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represent. Every time the sacred objects of a gens are shown to the 614
people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although the property of the
various gentes, must nevertheless be acquired by each individual. That 532
is to say, every free person has the right to acquire a certain group of
carvings and names, according to the gens to which he or she belongs. 432
Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate children, could not become 556
Sisau'k. A person cannot take a new carving, but must wait until it is
given to him by his relatives—father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ele'sta, [567]
to whom I owe my information regarding the gentes, and who is
a member of the gens Iulx'atimist of the Talio'mx, stated that he had [518]
received the raven when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch [115]
he received the eagle. He hopes that his mother will give him the whale
at his next potlatch, and will at the same time divulge to him the secrets
connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his secrets
to his children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new secret, he 614
changes his name. Each person has two names, a Kŭ'siut name, which 424
remains the same throughout life; and a Qi'utsiua name, which is changed
at these festivals. Thus, Nusk'ele'sta's (which is his Kŭ'siut name) 551
present Qi'utsiua name is Atl'tlemans'lua'ait, but at his next potlatch he 556
intends to take the name of Kalis'kis. These names are also the property
of the various gentes, each gens having its own names. In the list of 575 ●
gentes given above, the names enumerated are the Kŭ'siut names of the
ancestors. In two cases only the Qi'utsiua names have been ascertained
(see p. 409). When a man possesses several Sisau'k secrets he will distribute 424
them among his children. When a girl marries, her father or 575
mother may, after a child has been born to her, give one or several of
their Sisau'k secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member 614
of the gens. When a person gets to be old he gives away all his Sisau'k
secrets. After any secret has been given away the giver must not use it [426]
any more. The crest and the Sisau'k carvings must not be loaned to
others, but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions
are the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular gens.

The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl. 556
The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die the debts become due to his 426
heirs. If the debtor should die his heirs become responsible for the
debts. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned,
and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who
performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given
by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow
part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was
told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper-plate and
burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so he had to name the price which
he was going to pay to the owner in its stead. Since that time he died,
and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

The Kŭ'siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anulikŭtsai'x. 575
Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from February
till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she opens the 773
door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to have been 776
the first to find her. Anulikŭtsai'x invited her into her cave and taught

575 her the secrets of the Kū'siūt. She wore ornaments of red cedar-bark
773 around her head, wrists, and ankles; her face was blackened, her hair
776 strewn with eagle-down. She commanded the woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, they should dance with masks. She said, 'Whenever a person sees me your people shall dance the Kū'siūt. If you do not do so I shall punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my house, you must not dance the Kū'siūt.'

Ever since that time the Bilqula dance the Kū'siūt. When a man has
575 seen Anulikutsai'x's sitting before her cave he will invite the people to a
776 Kū'siūt. A ring made of red and white cedar-bark is hung up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing close to the door. As soon as the dances are over they must retire from the taboo house. Each Kū'siūt lasts three days.

585 The various dances performed by members of the Kū'siūt are also the property of the gentes, and the right of performing them is restricted
575 to members of the gens. They can not be given to a daughter's husband,
614 as is the case with the Sisau'k·a dances (see above), but belong to the members of the gens alone. They may, however, be loaned and borrowed
424 by members of the gens, who have a right to a particular dance, but who
[432] do not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower may return it at any time. Membership of the Kū'siūt is obtained through
575 an initiation. At this time the novice is given his Kū'siūt name, which
[551] he retains throughout life. Each gens has its peculiar Kū'siūt names, which are inherited by young persons from their parents or from other
[428] relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until he was about seventeen years old obtained at his initiation the name of Tl'akō'otl. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the details of the initiation;
[552] it seems that the dance is simply given to the novice in the same way as the Sisau'k·a, this initiation being connected with a potlatch. But
[787] still it seems possible that he must 'dream' of the dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the Kū'siūt have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The highest degrees are the
[554] Elaqō'tla (the Hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the Ō'lxq (the Nū'tlmatl of the Kwakiutl), and the Dū'tla (the Nō'ntsistatl of the Hē'iltsuk). These grades are also hereditary. A Kū'siūt novice may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

575 When the Elaqō'tla is initiated he goes into the forest, where he encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the sun,
785 and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The chiefs held
787 a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be
[344] killed, in order to serve as food for the Elaqō'tla. The offer was accepted and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Elaqō'tla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods. There the latter is tied up and left to fast. He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears to him and takes him up to the sun,
575 where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn

out by the strong breeze blowing in the higher regions. He is quite 575
naked, and bites everyone whom he can lay hold of. If he cannot catch
anyone he will bite his own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, [774]
which fled from the body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the
shamans must try for four days to recapture his soul. The night after [156]
they have recovered it the ʟlaqō'tla dances clothed in a bear-skin and
wearing a large headring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red [242]
and white cedar-bark. Some ʟlaqō'tla do not bite people, but merely [301]
devour raw salmon, or tear dogs to pieces and devour them. Those who
bite people will also eat corpses. The ʟlaqō'tla has to observe a number
of regulations. For four years after his initiation he must not gamble.
He must stay away from his wife for one year, but this period is being
reduced to one month. For two or three months he must not leave his
house.

The Ō'lᴇq (= the laugher) and the Dā'tia (= the thrower) do not go [785]
into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their
first dance. The Ō'lᴇq 'makes fun of everything' and scratches people
with his nails. The Dā'tia carries stones and sticks, and breaks household
goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day he
pays for it at night when he dances. The Ōlᴇq and the Dā'tia must stay
for one month, after they have danced, in their houses.

If a person transgresses the laws of the Kū'siūt, for instance when the 575
ʟlaqō'tla gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he has no 688
right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a mistake in
dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in council and the
offender is called before the court. After his offence has been proved he
is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty of death. If he is not
willing, and one of his relatives is found willing to take the penalty on
himself, the guilty party is spared, and the substitute is killed in his stead.
The execution of the judgment is entrusted to the shaman, who bewitches
the condemned person by throwing disease into him, or by poisoning him
in some other (supernatural?) way. The object thrown by the shaman
is a shell, bone, or finger-nail, around the middle of which objects a human
hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender he will fall sick. Blood
collects in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and
with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested
any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in 575
the Kū'siūt are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. 532
Novices must wear a necklet of red cedar-bark over their blankets for a
whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, 796
and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others
the thunder-bird and his servant Atlqulā'tᴇnum, who wears a mask with [776]
red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side
to the left-hand lower side, and a staff with red and blue spiral lines,
appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Qō'mtsica and his
brothers and his sister (see p. 412), Masmasalā'niq and his fellows, the
raven and the Nusqē'mta, and many others.

Customs regarding Birth, Puberty, Marriage, and Death.

When the time of delivery approaches, the woman leaves the house 844
and resorts to a small hut built for the purpose. She is assisted by pro-

Women wear tight anklets 'to prevent
751 the calves of their legs from slipping down.' During their monthly
841 periods women place soft cedar-bark in the vagina. The bark is afterwards
824 burnt in the woods. The smoke of this fire is believed to be poisonous.

It is evident that the culture of the Bilqula is very greatly influenced
177 by that of the Kwakiutl. The secret societies and the potlatch ceremonies
551 are almost a copy of those of the Hëiltsuk·. This influence has been so
556 deep that names of even deities and of the mythical ancestors of certain
gentes are purely Kwakiutl words, or have at least Kwakiutl endings. Thus
● 575 the name Aiumkī'likya (see p. 413) is purely Kwakiutl, meaning 'good all
776 over the world.' K·'ōmk·'omkī'likya is also a Kwakiutl word, meaning
'the rich one of the world.' The chief's name, Mā'lakyilatl (see p. 400)
771 belongs to the same class of Kwakiutl names. On the other hand, the
religious ideas of the Bilqula are very curiously developed, and apparently
but slightly influenced by their neighbours. The whole Masmasalā'niq
tradition is peculiar to them, but has been partly adopted by the Awiky'ē'nox, with whom the Bilqula have intermarried.

[pp. 425-449 not processed]

776 the House of Myths, but who has given up his place in favor of Senx and
Aʟk'untā'm. These two might be called the rulers of mankind. In most
traditions they are described as trying to destroy man, notwithstanding the
fact that they are considered the creators of mankind. This peculiar charac-
773 teristic of these deities is clearly brought out in the traditions recorded on
776 pp. 78 ff. In one legend which I collected in 1890, Aʟk'untā'm's mother,
Nusuntsmik·toquntā'm, is described as a Cannibal, who inserts her long
snout in the ears of man, and sucks out his brain. Eventually she was
transformed into the mosquito.[1] I did not hear her mentioned as one of the
deities residing in the House of Myths. According to the same tradition,
the salmon were obtained by a man who gambled with Aʟk'untā'm, the
stake being the salmon. Aʟk'untā'm lost, and the man took the salmon down
[826] from heaven. Another legend of the origin of the salmon is recorded on p. 38,
where it is told how the birds obtained the salmon. According to still another
tradition (p. 94), the Raven obtained the salmon by marrying a salmon girl.
In the tradition quoted above, Aʟk'untā'm also gives to man the power to cure
[755] disease by means of the water of life, which the shaman sprinkles on the
sick person.

776 A number of inferior deities live in the House of Myths. They might
be called the assistants of the principal deities. In order to understand their
[772] functions, it is necessary to state that the deities residing in the House
of Myths have particular charge of the religious winter ceremonial of the
[794] Bella Coola which is called kū'siut, and which corresponds to the ts'ētsā'eqa
of the Kwakiutl. I have described this ceremonial, and its importance in
[579] the social life of the Kwakiutl, in another paper.[2] The kū'siut is of equal
importance to an understanding of the social life and mythology of the
Bella Coola. It is sufficient to say at this place that the ceremonials per-
formed during the kū'siut are mostly dramatic representations of myths
[532] referring to the various deities, particularly to those of the House of Myths;
therefore masks representing these deities are used in the ceremonials.
Plates VII to XII[3] show a series of these masks. Figs. 1, 2, and 4 (Plate VII)
are Senx, Aʟk'untā'm, and Snutʟk'ulx·ā'ls. The functions of many of the
575 inferior deities seem to refer solely to the kū'siut. These deities and their
776 functions are as follows: Sīx·atk·'tlal'x· (Plate VII, Fig. 6) ordains the death
of man and animals. According to one statement that I received, there are
four deities of this name in the House of Myths. It is his particular duty
to kill those who transgress the laws of the kū'siut. This deity is men-
tioned by Jacobsen, who calls him Sch-ssik Kallai.[4] Nusnt'neq'als (Plate
VII, Fig. 7), or the Sisaū'q of the House of Myths, sits by himself in one

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 299.
[2] Report of the U. S. National Museum, 1895, pp. 311-738.
[3] Drawings by Mr. Rudolph Weber.
[4] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. 388.

corner of the house. He prevents those who are not initiated in the secrets 575 776
of the kŭ'siut from approaching the house. The Sne'nē'iq is a fabulous monster, the peculiarities of which are described in a number of traditions (see pp. 83 ff.). S'ants.x·ums.a'lt (Plate VII, Figs. 12 and 13) is a boy who performs kŭ'siut dances all the time. When the deities resolve to send a new dance down to our world, it is conveyed by S'ants.x·ums.a'lt. It is the office of another deity to sing, accompanying the kŭ'siut dances of the gods (Plate VII, Fig. 3). Anaqut'ō'tsam is a deity in regard to whose functions I have not been able to obtain detailed information. It is said that he intervenes on behalf of man when Senx and At.k'unta'm threaten to punish him. There are two goddesses in the house who also intervene in favor of man when the principal deities threaten him with death and sickness. Their names are Satoma'ss (Plate VII, Fig. 9) and Aia.llā'xaa (Plate VII, Figs. 10 and 11). They wake man after sleep. Without their help, nobody could wake from sleep. Aia.llā'xaa is at the same time the guardian of the moon. Every month she restores the moon to her full size, and she cleans her face after an eclipse. The moon is called A'sx.'ts.g·ila (Plate X, Fig. 10). The eclipse is produced by several deities called Aiq'oa'yoanam, which means "painting the face black" (Plate X, Figs. 4-6). It is believed that at this time the moon performs one of the most sacred ceremonies of the kŭ'siut, which are thought to be very dangerous to the performer. The black paint with which her face is covered is supposed to be a protection against these dangers. Aia.llā'xaa cleans off the paint after the dance has been completed. According to Jacobsen,[1] the Indians say that during an eclipse the moon (Ee-kla-ha-li-tsilla) paints her face black. The same deities are believed to paint and to clean the faces of human kŭ'siut dancers. Satoma'ss and Aia.llā'xaa also resuscitate those who are killed by the dangerous performances of the kŭ'siut. 575 776 821

While the functions of the beings enumerated here are mostly concerned 776
with the kŭ'siut, others are more immediately concerned with the affairs of 842
the world. Important among these is K·a'x·ax·ek·oa'm (Plate VII, Fig. 5). Senx is the creator of man, but his work is supplemented by that of the god K·a'x·ax·ek·oa'm. When Senx creates a new-born child, K·a'x·ax·ek·oa'm gives the child its individual features. Before children are born, the goddess named Nusx·qōmalsa'x· or Sxmatoa'lstas Snuxalā'ots.ais places them in a cradle and rocks them. After she ceases rocking them, the children are sent down to our world. She also rocks the young of all animals; and when she stops, Senx sends them down to our world to be born. At the same time he ordains that their skins and their flesh shall serve for clothing and food for man. Nusx·qōmalsa'x· might therefore be called the deity

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1892, p. 311.

[113]

paint. They taught him the methods of hunting, and, according to some, 776
they made the fish. The Bella Coola say, when carving a design, that Mas-
masalā'nix gives them the idea which they are working out.

Senx has a daughter named Sp'ix'p'îk'ma'la, who invented the art of [575]
working cedar-bark. Her figure is also used in the kū'siut ceremonial, in
which the invention of the preparation of cedar-bark is represented. This
deity has an assistant called Omatme'k·, who supports the stick over the
edge of which she is breaking the bark. When first breaking bark, she
shouts, "Aʟe'ts sūtya'lxsm ti Omatme'k·tsx" ("Bring to me Omatme'k·"). [539]
After he has been given to her, she shouts, "Aʟe'ts sūtya'lxsm ts [illegible]"
("Bring me the board on which to break the bark"). After receiving this,
she demands the cedar-bark breaker, saying, "Aʟe'ts [illegible] ti
sp'ī'k'tsts." Finally she asks for cedar-bark, saying, "Aʟe'ts [illegible]
ti sp'ī'k'tsmtsx." Then she begins to work, singing,—

[539]

"[illegible]
[illegible] Sp'ix'p'îk'ma'la [illegible]."

("Behold me, ye who are not initiated!
I am the Cedar-bark Breaker of [illegible].")

It seems that most of the Bella Coola maintain that the Raven also 776
lives in the House of Myths, but this point of their mythology is somewhat 773
obscure and contradictory. According to the tradition of a number of families, the Raven was one of the beings sent down by Senx to our world to
become the ancestor of man, but at the same time it is told that he invented
certain arts. It is stated that he made the first salmon-trap ([illegible]), which
is used in connection with the salmon-weir.

It is also said that Masmasalā'nix attempted to make the whistles for the
winter ceremonial, that he was unsuccessful, and that the Raven succeeded
in making them; also that the Raven came down to give the world its
present shape. He instituted the festivals of the Bella Coola, and then
returned to the House of Myths.

Besides all these deities, there are nine brothers and their sister particu- 776
larly concerned with the observations of the kū'siut ceremonial (Plate IX,
Figs. 1-9). The names of the brothers are, Xemsxmalā'nɬa, Xe'mtsiwa,
Omq'ōmk·i'lik·a, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'ʟaɬa, Al'umk·i'lik·a, K·ie'lias, Q'alaxā'wa,
A'l'mak·; and of their sister, Ɬ'ēna'apitsɬaa. These deities are painted with 776
certain designs. Xemsxmalā'nɬa and Xe'mtsiwa are painted with the de- 532
signs of the full moon (the former carries a staff wound with red and white
cedar-bark); Omq'ōmk·i'lik·a and Q'ō'mtsiwa, with the design of the half-
moon; Aimalā'ʟaɬa and Al'umk·i'lik·a, with the design representing the
stars; K·ie'lias, with the design of the rainbow; Q'alaxā'wa, with the de-

776 sign of the salmon-berry blossom: A'ʟ'măk· has the shape of a kingfisher;
and ʟ'ĕtsā'aplĕʟāna is painted with the design of a sea-lion bladder filled
532 with grease. She wears rings of red and white cedar-bark. The carving representing the kingfisher has the wings attached to the sides of the head, while the tail rises over the forehead. Xĕmxĕmalā'oʟla is said to carry a small woman in his arms. Her name is Nuspō'xta. When the brothers and their sister threaten to do harm to man, she entreats them to desist. In some traditions these deities are described as the children of Aʟk'untā'm.[1]

776 In one tradition ʟ'ĕtsā'aplĕʟāna is described as visiting houses and
stealing provisions. She is then pursued by the person whom she has
773 wronged, and returns to the House of Myths. The deities are unable to cure her; but the person who wounded her is called in, and withdraws his
[114] arrow, whereupon she recovers.[1] Formerly I had the impression that these
ten deities were particularly concerned with the sisau'k· ceremonial,[2] but this
[575] impression has not been substantiated by the information I received during the past year. The ten deities appear much rather as deities of the kū'siut.

575 In the rear of the House of Myths there is a room named ʟlō'sta, in
which the son of the deities lives. His name is Bā'ᴇxōʟla or Snupaaxoʟa'lt.
773 When Sᴇnx and Aʟk'untā'm desire to destroy their visitors, they send them
776 past the door of Bā'ᴇxōʟa's room. The latter then rushes out of his room
and devours the visitors. He also initiates the Cannibal. According to
[772] the tradition of the tribe Sᴇ'nxʟᴇmx·, they acquired membership in the Cannibal Society in the following manner: Bā'ᴇxōʟla came down to the mountain Sqᴇʟ, where he met with the son of Sᴇnxalō'ʟᴇla, the first of the tribe. He conducted him up to the House of Myths. He took him into his room, and gave him the name Q'oalaiu'tstimot. He put a snake into his body, which enabled him to pass through the water. When the youth applied his mouth to the body of a person, the snake tore pieces of flesh from the body, and devoured it. Then Bā'ᴇxōʟla took the youth to the upper heaven, past the rent in the sky, and to the house of the supreme deity, Qama'its. The two approached the house, being blown towards it by the strong gale prevailing in the open country of the upper heaven. They found Qama'its sitting in front of her house; and she said to Bā'ᴇxōʟla, "Why don't you come in? You wish that your friend should obtain great supernatural power. Bring him to my house, and I will give him what you desire. Stay for a short while where you are, and I will show you what I am doing. Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." After a little while the post closed its eyes. It grew dark at once, and the two visitors fainted, but soon they recovered. When the post opened its eyes again, it grew light. The visitors remained sitting on the ground, and

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 294.
[2] Seventh Report on the Northwestern Tribes of Canada, p. 6.

suddenly a strong wind began to blow, which rolled them over the prairie 575
until they reached the door of the house. Then suddenly the wind calmed 773
down. They remained sitting on the ground near the doorway; and Qama'its 776
said, "Watch closely when the post of my house closes its eyes." They were sitting opposite each other, watching the post; and when it closed its eyes, they were transformed into two stones, but they soon regained human shape. Then Qamā'its asked them to enter. Now the woman took the youth's blanket, and gave him another one made of bear-skin set with fringes of red cedar-bark. She told him that this blanket was to keep him warm, and that it would direct his course. Next she fetched some water from the salt-water pond behind her house. She sprinkled it over the faces of her visitors, and told the youth to sing about his experiences in the upper heaven when performing the Cannibal dance. If she had not sprinkled the faces of her visitors with water, they would have died. She said to the youth, "Your country is not far away. Do not be afraid of the dangerous road that you have to pass. Later on there shall be many Cannibals like you. Do not be afraid to touch the food that another Cannibal may offer to you. You are strong because you have seen me." Then Qamā'its sent him back to the lower sky. Here the gods placed him on the back of a bird (Sqʷxsᴇn), which carried him down to the sea. As soon as the bird reached the water, it uttered its cry, and at the same time the young man uttered the cry of the Cannibal. The people heard it, and said to one another, "That must be the boy whom we lost some time ago." They connected many canoes by means of planks, and paddled out to the place where the bird was swimming about. They covered the canoes with red cedar-bark and eagle-down, and tried to capture the youth; but when they approached, the bird swam towards the village. They surrounded it with their canoes; but the bird flew up, and disappeared in the sky, and at the same time the youth flew towards the village. When the people landed, he attacked them, taking hold of their arms; and the snake, which was still in his body, tore pieces of flesh out of their arms. The people sang and beat time in order to appease him.

In a second room in the rear of the House of Myths, next to that 776
of the Cannibal, lives Kōkō'sʟxᴇm, another son of the deities. His room is 575
called Nus'ō'lxata. He initiates the Olx-dancer (see Chap. VI). [772]

The path of the Sun is guarded by a number of deities. At sunrise [772]
is stationed the Bear of Heaven, Snanō's ti Sōnx' t'aix' (Plate X, Fig. 2). [821]
He is described as a fierce warrior, who protects the Sun against the attacks of his enemies, and he is the cause of the warlike spirit of man. His hair is tied up in a knot on top of his head. His mask is used in the sisau'k'

776 ceremonial, and sometimes in the kū'siut. The following song belongs to
575 his mask and dance:—

[539]

> Xanemō'tataix ti q'i·qahl'mtai'nix'. Nō'nuq'swtsum ts'ēn t'ayūxalst'aix· ayuts
> snanō's ti sinx· t'aix·, wā, aña, ai!
>
> ("Cry now, as though you had left me! I shall tie up my hair, warriors, like
> the Bear of Heaven.")

776 At sunset stands an enormous post which is called Nutēexoa'axtatas ti Snax· t'aix·. It supports the sky, and prevents the Sun from falling down
821 into the lower world. The trail of the Sun is described as a bridge which was built by Masmasalā'nix. The bridge is as broad as the distance between the winter solstice and the summer solstice. The Sun walks, his face turned towards the west. In summer he walks on the right-hand side of the bridge, in winter on the left-hand side of the bridge, which explains the varying heights of the sun in the course of the year. The extreme right and extreme left of the bridge are called Sē'ɛmt ("the place where he sits down," that is, the solstices). At each of these points a being is placed who is called ALk·x·ē'LnEm (Plate X, Fig. 3). It is their duty to see that the Sun does not tarry too long at the solstice. If in summer or winter he should be inclined to stay too long or to return too soon, they regulate his course. When the Sun tarries too long at the winter solstice, the people say, "ēx tsēs pa'nia" ("salmon will be dried late this year"). If he leaves it without tarrying, they say, "ēk·!x· tsēs pa'nia" ("soon we shall dry salmon"). Three guardians named Naqumiqa'otsaix (Plate X, Fig. 1) accompany the Sun on his course, dancing around him all the time. The halo is called Itwu'xtsia ti MānL t'aix· ("the cape of our father"). A sun-
[731] dog that appears westward from the Sun is called ALqōL ti MānL t'aix· ("the painted face of our father"). The Bella Coola believe that when it drops
[753] down to our earth, it causes epidemics. During an eclipse the Sun is believed to lose his torch. The rays of the Sun are his eyelashes.

There are twenty-four guardians appointed to take care of the sky. They are called Nexolak·al'x·. According to tradition, the sky must be continually fed with firewood. Once upon a time they put too much firewood into the sky and made it burst. All the pieces except one, called S'aL-walō'sɛm, fell down to our earth. The fragments hit the faces of the twenty-four guardians, and distorted them. They tried to mend the sky, but did not know how to do it. They went down the river, and came to Masmasalā'nix, whose assistance they asked. Masmasalā'nix gathered up the broken pieces, and glued them together. Up to that time the Sun had staid in the east, but now he began to go on his daily course. At that time Masmasalā'nix built the bridge over which the Sun travels every day. He placed a wedge in the opening of the sky, into which the Nexolak·al'x·

Smayā'ᴇn, that is considered a human being. It is said that his children make the canoe go up Bella Coola River with the rising tide, A'nxumk·ila. The canoe travels the distance from the mouth of the river to the mountain Smayā'na in a single tide. The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" stays for four months. Then the canoe "Kunkunu'qstuʟᴀ" returns from the country of the Salmon, while "Nō'ak·nᴇm" leaves again. It is said that all the gods of the House of Myths come to the villages of the Bella Coola in the canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm." 773 [776]

The arrival and the departure of these canoes are strictly regulated according to the calendar of the Bella Coola, which for this reason should be explained in connection with their beliefs. The Bella Coola divide the year into two parts, which are separated by the winter and summer solstices. The solstices are periods of indefinite length, between which five months are counted. Each solstice is reckoned, therefore, as approximately six weeks. The names of the months are as follows:— 773 805 821

Sē'tmōt (winter solstice)	Sē'tmōt (summer solstice)
Sxōlē'mx·ᴇnᴇm	Sî'lxᴇm
[illegible]	[illegible]
Sinq'ᴇm	SinuʟĪx'lxᴇmtᴇnᴇm
[illegible]	Tsē'sitsk·ā'lᴇm taʟᴇn Anaᴛlikuts'ai'x·
Sinō'smok·	[illegible]

The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" arrives, and "Kunkunu'qstuʟᴀ"[4] leaves, in the month SinuʟĪx'lxᴇmtᴇnᴇm. The canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" leaves, and "Kunkunu'qstuʟᴀ" returns, in the month Sxōlē'mx·ᴇnᴇm.

At the moment when the canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" arrives, a deity called Anaᴛlikuts'ai'x· (Plate XII, Figs. 1 and 2), who is believed to live in a cave, opens the door of her abode. There is one deity of this name to each village. Her cave is called Nuskē'aiō'tsta. It is said that one Anaᴛlikuts'ai'x· lives on the mountain Sqtᴇʟ. Her house is described as a large hollow bowlder suspended from the top of the mountain by means of a rope. Each Anaᴛlikuts'ai'x· has an older sister who is called Nutse'xᴇnᴇm. When the canoe "Nō'ak·nᴇm" appears, and she opens her door, she steps outside and stands in front of her house, dancing, with trembling hands. When a person sees her, he faints. His soul is taken into her house, and is initiated into the secrets of the kū'siut. 773 776 [575]

A particular Nuskē'aiō'tsta is believed to be at the foot of the creek Anō'ak·, on the northern side of North Bentinck Arm, near the mouth of Bella Coola River. A woman called Nustsxoaxlō'stxuit, lives there. She is described as emaciated, of black skin, and as wearing a black blanket. A certain chief who lived long ago was the first to see her. He was initiated by her, and after his return he performed a dance, and told what he had seen. Then he died.

776 756 Some of these he gives to the shaman. . . . A third spirit is the Skais [Snal'txnax], which is believed to live in rivers, and to have the shape of a salmon. When a shaman who is inspired by this spirit makes an incantation in a house, singing and dancing, as all the shamans do, whoever approaches the house and hears the song turns back. They believe that whoever passes the house during the incantation will be punished with death by the spirit Skais."

I believe this spirit is identical with LaLai'tiL, who, as stated before, has the second name Snal'txnax. According to Jacobsen, some shamans are initiated by the ghosts. He says that the ghosts are believed to have [775] bald heads and blue faces. I am under the impression, however, that the [595] people initiated by them are not shamans, but kŭ'siut dancers (see Chap. VI).

Another being who initiates shamans is described in the following tradition: — 539

Once upon a time there was a man and a woman who had four sons. 756 The three elder ones died. Then the father and mother and the youngest 776 brother were very unhappy, and the old people cried for grief until they died. The young man was now left all alone. He left his village, intending to go away and never to return. He pulled his blanket over his head and walked on. Sometimes he would stop to pray. He lived on the meat of mountain-goats which he shot. He built a small hut high up on the mountains, and dried the meat. He was crying and praying all the time. He prayed to the Sun to give him a gift which would restore his happiness. One day early in the morning he ascended the mountain. He addressed the rising Sun, saying, "Look at me, how unhappy I am." After he had gone a short distance he came to a ravine. The bed of the ravine was filled with pretty pebbles. There he met a beautiful man, who was no other than the Sun, who had descended from the sky. He had caused the water of the creek that runs through the ravine to disappear. When the young man saw the stranger from a distance, he thought, "He seems to be looking for me." He went nearer; and when they met, the Sun said, "I am the one to whom you are praying all the time, and I came to help you. Now be happy. When you open your mouth and speak to me, I know your thoughts at once. I help those who address themselves to me. Take this." With these words he handed the young man a switch carved in the shape of a man. The Sun was carrying it under his arm, the point of the switch directed downward. "Fold your arms and hold this switch to your chest, and then return to the village. When you approach anyone, hide the switch under your arm. You will find a person who wears a nose-ornament of beautiful green color. Then you must try to hit the ornament with this switch, and throw it to your right side."

They had hit a stone, and their points were broken. He staid there some 539
time, and when it was nearly dark he returned home. Before he reached 776
his house, he cut his own belly and took out some of the fat from his intestines. He cut it in five pieces, and replaced his intestines. He put the fat into his quiver. When he reached his house, he hung the quiver up outside, and entered. He imitated everything the Lynx had done. When it grew dark, he told his wife to fetch his quiver. She brought it, and he told her to open it and to feed his children. She took the fat out, placed it on a stick, and put it near the fire: and as soon as it grew warm, the Raven cried, "Tttt! Don't put it so near the fire. I feel sick when you do so." He jumped up, took hold of the fat, and put it back in his belly. The Lynx said, "Formerly I fed your children, but you were the first not to treat me properly. You did not give any food to my children." Then the Lynx took some fat, and flung one piece to each of the Raven's children. He cut some meat and gave it to them also. Then the Raven said, "I will give you one of my children, that it may grow up in company with yours."

It is said that the former spirit Toa'laʟ'it was killed at one time by an 773
Indian who took his place. This tale is recorded in Chap. IV. It belongs to
the tribe of the village Nusxé'q!. A similar tradition is told of Astas,[1] 776
by which name the Carriers call the Raven, their principal culture hero. [171]
Many traditions referring to Astas are common to the Carriers, the Bella Coola, and the Awi'k·'ēnôx of Rivers Inlet.

The Bella Coola believe that a being called K·tsos is the father of all 776
mountain-goats. When a hunter meets him, he thinks he sees a kid. Then
he should close his eyes and open them again. If the animal is K·tsos, it 825
will appear in its real shape as a buck of enormous size. The hunter should then ascend the mountain. If he should descend, he would fall and die.

The thunder-storm is produced by the Thunder-bird, who lives on the 776
mountains, in the company of a number of spirits, who are considered his
particular friends. The Thunder-bird himself is represented by a black [821]
mask with red nostrils. The nose is strongly curved, the forehead bulges
forward, and the chin protrudes almost as far forward as the nose (Plate XI, [532]
Fig. 1). His herald is called Aʟxula'tᴇnum (Plate XI, Fig. 2). His face is painted with orange and blue stripes, and he carries a speaker's staff, which is painted with spirals of the same color. He watches the door of the Thunder-bird's house. In his house live the Rabbit (Plate XI, Fig. 3):
the Owl, who is considered the rival of the Thunder-bird (Plate XI, Fig. 4): [575]
the Mountain, ʟé'qots (Plate XI, Fig. 5); the Raindrop (Plate XI, Fig. 6).

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1894, p. 301.

776 The Thunder-bird and his companions appear in the kö'siut ceremonial.
575 When they enter the house, a dancer appears who carries an instrument in
[534] the shape of a bird-rattle (Plate XI, Fig. 7), which is provided with holes in its lower side, and has a loose back. This implement is filled with cedar-bark and eagle-down, and is shaken by the dancer. The eagle-down is thus made to fly about in the house, symbolizing the wealth and power of the Thunder-bird.

IV.

184
773 In the preceding pages I have summarized the principal features of Bella Coola mythology, which are characteristic of the traditions of the whole tribe. Besides these, there are other groups of traditions which are very conflicting. One reason for the existence of numerous contradictory traditions must be looked for in the peculiar social organization of the Bella Coola. In former times, when the tribe was populous, the Bella Coola inhabited a great many villages. The inhabitants of each village are considered the descendants of a number of mythical ancestors who were sent down by Senx. Each of these village communities has traditions of its own, which are its property, and which are not well known to the rest of the tribe. Many of these traditions refer to the origin of our world, and for this reason a number of the most important myths differ in various villages. Indications of such conflicting ideas may be found in the traditions recorded in the preceding pages. To make this subject clear, it is necessary to describe somewhat fully the traditions belonging to a number of village communities. Before recording these traditions I shall enumerate the villages of the tribe.
103 The following list is the result of repeated inquiries. In it the names and
361 locations of the villages are given in consecutive order from the mouth of Bentinck Arm upward along Bella Coola River, and the names of the
773 mythical ancestors of the village communities have been added where these have been ascertained.

VILLAGE.	LOCATION.	ANCESTORS.
1. Q'oā'Lna	At the bay of this name.	
2. Sɪ'Lia	At the entrance of South Bentinck Arm.	Tōtoaō'nx.
3. Nusxē'q!	On North Bentinck Arm.	Smaiotā'k·as, Nusqua'xlanē, Sx·ints, and their sister Ē'nx·'axana.
4. Pē'isxla	At the entrance of the valley opening on the north side of the mouth of Bella Coola River.	Sxā'homx Yuyō'lk·, Mxmtaī't, Sixō'L.
5. Atqla'xL	The present mission at the north side of Bella Coola River, near its mouth.	Iuyū'yōt, Xēmaē'utxoem, Snxnxala'h, and their sister Loqul'nta.

000 the middle of the water, the barnacles and worms bit her. She jumped up, and the canoe capsized. The birds swam ashore. After a short time the barnacles and sea-worms came ashore too. They looked very stout, because they had eaten the bear. Then the youth said to the girl, "There are two trails here,—one leading to the left, the other to the right. You follow the one, I will follow the other. If the trails meet, we will marry; if they do not, we here separate forever. They started, and after a while met each other. Then the youth married the girl. (Mask of the Bear, Plate X, Fig. 12.)[1]

VI.

It is necessary to make a few remarks on the relation of the ceremonials
121 of the Bella Coola Indians to their mythology. I have not seen any of their
796 ceremonials, and my descriptions are based on inquiries, and upon the accounts
[124] published by Fillip and Adrian Jacobsen.

The Bella Coola have two ceremonials,—the sisau'k· and the kū'siut, which
796 correspond to the ʟaō'laxa and the ts'ē'tsä'eqa of the Kwakiutl. I have
described these ceremonials fully in another paper.[2] The sisau'k· ceremonials
575 are mostly dramatic representations illustrating the clan legends, some of
which have been recorded in Chap. IV, while the kū'siut ceremonials are
dramatic representations of the initiation of members of various clans into
certain secret societies. Among these, the Cannibal Society, the Society of
the Laughers, and the Society of the Throwers, are the most important.
These are called by the Bella Coola the ᴇlaxō'ʟᴇla, Olx, and Dā'tia. I
described on pp. 34, 35, the spirits presiding over the two first-named
114 societies. The information which I obtained on these points is perfectly
575 clear and consistent. I cannot quite reconcile the explanations given by
A. and F. Jacobsen to the accounts which I received. It seems that their
776 accounts do not clearly distinguish between the opinions held by various
tribes. In the article above referred to, I described fully the opinions held
796 by the Kwakiutl in regard to the origin of their Cannibal Society. They
believe that a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsī'waē initiates the Cannibals. He
is represented as having an enormous black head with dilated nostrils and
large mouth. I have made frequent inquiries among the Bella Coola, but
received the uniform answer that this being does not initiate their Cannibals.
It is not impossible that a few families may have adopted this tradition from
the Kwakiutl tribes, but I have not been able to find it among the Bella
Coola. Jacobsen maintains that Baxbakualanuxsī'waē is the particular spirit
of the Cannibal among the Bella Coola, and brings forward the well-known

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[1] Additional legends of the Bella Coola have been published in the publications quoted on pp. 26, 27.

[2] Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 311-738.

tradition of the Awī'k·'ēnōx as an explanation of the ceremonial. The only 114
modification which I note in this tradition is that the Cannibal's wife is 575
described as sucking out through their ears the brains of children,—an incident 776
which I heard related of the mother of AɫA'untä'm.² He calls him "Beck- 746
Beck-Kvalanit, and in the Bella Coola dialect, Päh-Päh Kualanusiva." This word is decidedly of Kwakiutl origin, meaning "the one who eats human flesh at the mouth of the river (or at the north end of the world)." Neither have I been able to find any mask representing this being among the Bella Coola tribe. The masks which they use in connection with the Cannibal ceremony are of quite a different character (Plate XII, Figs. 1-8). I am the more inclined to think that Mr. Jacobsen did not clearly distinguish between the customs and traditions of various tribes, since he introduces "Ganikilla[illegible]'nigilak·) in the traditions of the Bella Coola, while it is distinctively a legend of the Kwakiutl tribes of the extreme northwest of Vancouver Island. Jacobsen does not distinguish clearly between the sisaū'k· and the kū'siut, stating that the kū'siut dances are performed during the sisaū'k· in the same way as, among the Kwakiutl, a ɫaō'laxa may be celebrated during the ts'ē'ts'aēqa. This may be, but theoretically the two ceremonials must be considered entirely distinct. According to the information which I received, sisaū'k· dances may be held in summer, in which case the kū'siut could not possibly form part of the sisaū'k· ceremonial. When, on the other hand, the sisaū'k· takes place during the kū'siut period, it would naturally be accompanied by kū'siut dances.

As stated before, the sisaū'k· is a ceremonial in which the legend of the 575
clan is illustrated by means of dramatic performances. At the same time 424
valuable presents are distributed among the guests who are invited to witness [431]
the ceremonial. The value of the gifts amounts often to several thousand dollars. At this time the family legend is told in general outlines, but the details of the legend are kept a secret, and are transmitted only to those who are initiated in the sisaū'k· of the clan. It seems that we must consider the transmission of the sisaū'k· legend in the following manner: At any given time it is the property of the chief of the family, who, at the time of the celebration, transfers his rights to his successor, generally to his son. The full tradition is kept secret by the owner. It seems that there is a close analogy between the conditions prevailing in the northwest and those found among the southwestern Indians, among whom certain priests are guardians of traditions. Among the tribes of the northwest coast the chief of a family is the guardian and owner of the family tradition, while among the southwestern tribes the priest is the guardian of the tradition belonging to a clan or to a fraternity. My impression is, however, that among the northwestern

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[1] Verhandlungen der Berliner Gesellschaft für Anthropologie, Ethnologie und Urgeschichte, 1891, p. [illegible] [113]

[2] Ibid., 1892, p. [illegible]

424 Indians the tradition is considered much more clearly the property of the
575 person who has it in charge than it is among the southwestern Indians. A
description of the sisau'k· ceremonial has been given by Jacobsen in the
paper above referred to.[1]

614 A clan legend which is illustrated in the sisau'k· ceremonial is called
by the Bella Coola "Smaiusta" or "Smai'yusta." These traditions are the
424 exclusive property of each clan. The laws according to which they descend
from generation to generation differ from the laws prevailing among the other
[621] Coast tribes. The inhabitants of each Bella Coola village are not subdivided
into clans, gentes, or septs; but each village community forms a unit, and
possesses the same tradition. In order to keep the tradition in the tribe, the
614 law requires that no person shall marry outside of his own village community.
Thus the clan tradition is kept the exclusive property of the village com-
429 munity by means of endogamy. I have made very careful inquiries in regard
582 to this point, and all the old men make substantially the same statement.
Even marriages among near relatives are permitted; and although marriages
of people who are distantly related, or not related at all, are preferred, it
even happens that cousins marry, or that an uncle marries his niece, in order
to keep the clan tradition from being acquired by another village community.
It seems, however, that, owing to the influence of the Coast tribes, the
endogamic system has begun to give way to an exogamic system. Powerful
[622] and wealthy chiefs marry outside of their own village community, in order
to secure an additional clan legend through marriage. This new system
agrees with the one prevalent among the Kwakiutl tribes.

575 The kū'siut, as stated before, is a religious ceremony in which all the
614 deities of heaven are personified. The members of various clans are initiated
according to their clan traditions; but the same societies and the same deities
796 appear in the traditions of all the various clans. From what little I have
been able to learn, it seems that there is an elaborate opening of the whole
ceremonial, corresponding to the opening of the ceremonial among the
Kwakiutl.[2] I received the following description of the opening ceremony:—

575 The person who invites to the kū'siut, that is to say, the man whose
son is to be initiated into one of the secret societies according to the tradition
796 of his clan, requests a person who is called Ē'xem to invite the nine brothers
and their sister, who reside in the House of Myths, and in whose charge the
[776] kū'siut is placed. The names of the brothers are Xemxāsmalā'ntla, Xe'mtsiwa,
Ōmq'umkî'likᵘa, Q'ō'mtsiwa, Aimalā'ntla, Al'umkî'likᵘa, K·'ō'lias, Q'ulantā'wa,
λē'mtsk·; and that of their sister, L'ētsā'aplitlana (see p. 33). In the rear
of the house an elevated room is prepared for Ē'xem, in which he lies down.
He is covered with rings made of red cedar-bark. For four days he stays

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[1] Ymer, 1894, pp. 1-13.

[2] I have described this fully in the Annual Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 500 ff.

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[203]

in this room. Then the host sends messengers to invite the people. They take staffs, and tie red cedar-bark round their heads, and go from house to house, singing. "Nuyaxdets wa nonosp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish to find some one who understands the winter ceremonial.") This they repeat in every house. Then they return to the host's house, who sends them out again, ordering them to sing. "Qots'ak·im totēts wa nonosp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish the dancers would wash their hands.") Again they return to his house. They are sent out once more with the message, "Xo'tsak·ntotēts wa nonosp'otstsē' he!" ("I wish the dancers would make their hands tremble.") They return once more to the chief's house, and are sent out again with the message, "Tapamak·tēts wa nonosp'otstsē' he!" ("I want the dancers to look at their hands.") Now the dancers are ready, and come to the house. Then Ē'xēm arises and dresses. He puts on a head-dress of birds' skins, ornamented with red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by women. Another man, who is called Nusx·is'mt., adorns himself with red cedar-bark. He carries in his right hand a small baton covered with red cedar-bark. In his left he carries a larger stick, on which he beats time with the small baton. He sits down, and now all the people enter. First of all, Ē'xēm comes in, accompanied by many women. Nusx·is'mt. begins to sing and to beat time, and Ē'xēm shouts, "Ooo!" Ē'xēm walks around the fire, keeping it to his left, and shaking his bark. Before he begins the circuit, he gives four jumps near the door. Four times he goes round the fire, and every time he reaches the door he gives four jumps. As soon as he does so, Nusx·is'mt. beats time slowly. When Ē'xēm has finished his dance, the people take him to a place near the door, and a woman sings near him. Nusx·is'mt. and the people join her, then she dances her winter dance. Before she quite finishes, the people make her stop, and another woman begins her dance. Nusx·is'mt. beats time, and the other people join his song. The people make her stop again. Thus a great many people perform their dances. Now Ē'xēm appears again, crying, "Ooo!" and Nusx·is'mt. beats time. Again he jumps four times to the right and four times to the left when reaching the door. After this, two more men and two more women perform their dances. After this has been done twice, Ē'xēm stands near the door, looking upward, and says, "They are very near now." By this time the whole house is full of people. He goes around the house three times, dancing. Then he stays near the door, looking upward, saying all the time, "They are near by." When he reaches the door the fourth time, he cries, "They have arrived! Now they are here, dancing on the roof!" Ē'xēm continues to dance in the house, in order to induce them to come down. The first to come down is Xēmxēmalā'ots.la, who stops at the rear of the house and sits down. Ē'xēm continues to dance, and the others enter in order. Ē'xēm stands near them and says, "Now I have placed

7;Boas E-5 (1886-ca.1900)1900 MSS Bellacoola MSS

575 them. Let the chief give them red cedar-bark." The people take small
916 pieces of blankets, and sew red cedar-bark on to them in designs corresponding to the paintings on the faces of these deities, and they give these to the deities in order to appease them. Then they throw grease into the fire. During all this time K'ntsm stands in the rear of the house; and when a painting has been finished, the man who offers it to the deity shouts, "Xᴇmsᴇmalā'tsᴀlᴀ t'aix·taa'!" ("This is Xᴇmsᴇmalā'tsᴀlᴀ.") And K'ntsm sings, "Yayak·lamots'ikᴀ wa k'waLᴇmsᴇ'x·m. t'aix· ta'ya; anā'an.'t'mᴇmsᴇts mᴀk·ntsimsᴇ'x· ᴀnālkulᴀmits'ya." As soon as he has finished his song, a loud noise is heard on the roof, as though a heavy stone were falling down. K'ntsm arises and performs a dance, while the noise of whistles is heard proceeding from him.

575 I am not familiar with the details of the ceremonial, and shall proceed to record the principal characteristics of the various societies. The Cannibal is initiated in the House of Myths by Ba'axoᴀla. I recorded above (p. 34) how a young man was initiated by this spirit, and how he was returned to his friends. The return of the Cannibal is accompanied by ceremonies similar
[184] to those recorded in this tradition. It seems that the ceremonies of the Cannibals of various families are much alike, each having a tradition of its own referring to the initiation. It is believed that all the Cannibals, during their initiation, go up to the sky. I was told that on this journey they have to take human flesh along for food. It is said that in former times the chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and any one who wanted to show his liberality offered one of his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for Ba'axoᴀla. The offer was accepted, and a
[246] payment made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the Ba'axoᴀla order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of the novice to the woods.

The spirit appears to the novice while he is in the woods, and takes him up to the House of Myths, where he is initiated. Early one morning he returns, and is heard outside of the houses. He has lost all his hair except a little in the median line of the head. It is believed that it has been torn off by the strong wind blowing in the higher regions. Some Cannibals do
575 not devour human flesh, but tear dogs to pieces or devour raw salmon. The
716 ceremonial consists in purifying the Cannibal, and exorcising the spirit that possesses him. This is the object of the kō'siut ceremonial. After a Cannibal has returned, the people try to capture him. When he is first heard to approach, the speaker, whose face is painted black, and who wears a cedar-bark ring, and is covered with eagle-down, shouts, "Ts'ᴇma'n'an tak'axᴀ'l.h. tᴀm.'a'tsᴇ'al. P'alᴀxᴀmᴀlᴀmᴇnsᴇ' ts'ᴇma'n'an tᴀnkwalā'l.h. t'aa'lāmta'al'!" ("Arise, it may be our Cannibal. Awake!") The Cannibal is accompanied by four assistants, who are called Aᴀlᴀpᴀ, and who from time to time utter

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the cry, "*Hop!*" which is intended to pacify the Cannibal. They wear masks (Plate XII, Figs. 4 and 5). The people try to throw a noose over his head; but he throws it off, refusing to be captured. Then the people shout, "Ya'!" beating time rapidly. The Cannibal tears the ropes that hold him, and disappears. Then the people follow him, and search for him until they find him. As soon as they approach, he attacks them, but gradually he becomes quieter. Then the speaker (Alk·') invites the people to the dancing-house, saying, "Ip'a'nap kukusiusu't!" That means, "Dance, dancers!" Now the Cannibal opens the door, accompanied by his assistants. He wears the mask shown in Plate XII, Fig. 3. At once a number of women arise, ready to surround him as soon as he enters the house. They are called *Ayaa.'aa'tamax*. The speaker, who holds a staff, arises and shouts, "O â ya'li-watimuts Alqtaayakwa's!" That means, "Act like a real Cannibal." The Cannibal utters his cry, "Hoaaa, hoaaa, hoaaa!" ending with a long deep growl. He stays in the doorway for a long time. Then he steps into the house, turns his left shoulder outward once, bites one man on the right-hand side of the house, and one on the left-hand side, and then performs his circuit of the fire, leaving the fire to his left. In dancing he holds his fists in front of his chest, one on each side. He moves in a stooping position, raising his feet very high. He dances for four nights, during which time the people try to pacify him by means of songs and dances. After he has first been induced to enter the house, he becomes quieter. Then he tells the people what he has seen during his absence, and the song-leader makes a song on the subject. The women do not learn about the events that took place during his absence until they hear the song. After four days the ceremony of exorcising the S'a'tpata (Plate XII, Figs. 6 and 7), the monster that possesses him, is performed. A large dish is ornamented with red cedar-bark; and the assistant of the S'a'tpata (Plate XII, Fig. 8), by means of incantations, makes the Cannibal vomit the snake, or the wolf, or the eagle, that possesses him. Then he is seen to carry the head of the animal under his left arm, while the body is seen in the rear, being held by his assistants. Then this animal is seen to vomit flesh and blood into the dish which has been prepared for the purpose. The Cannibal's assistants cover the body of the animal with down, while they cry from time to time, "Hop!" Then the people beat time very rapidly, and suddenly the S'a'tpata has disappeared. The people beat time four times, and after this the Cannibal has become like an ordinary man. He walks around the fire, which he keeps to his right, and says, "Now Ba'xaxula has left me." The contents of the dish are thrown into the water, but the dish itself is burned in the dancing-house. It is supposed that it is thus conveyed to heaven. After the dish has been burned, the Cannibal does not dance any more. Then a bed is prepared for him in the rear of the house, in which he must stay for four days. After this, he is

575 796 allowed to re-enter the houses; but before doing so for the first time, he must stop at the door and shout, "Wa, wa, wa!" Then he jumps over the threshold. Accompanied by many men, he is led, after four days more, to the river for final purification. He is pushed into the water, but struggles to free himself. He tries to duck his companions, and utters his cries. Finally he is led back. Then he weeps, because the spirit has left him entirely. The people beat time while he is going back to the house. Then he is offered a piece of salmon, which is placed on his throat, while the people shout, "Hoip, hoip!" The salmon is taken away again, and after some time he is allowed to take one bite. Then he must lie down. After the dancing season is ended, he is again allowed to eat in the same way as other people do. The piece of salmon that was placed on his throat is eaten by children as a protection against sickness. Finally a ceremony is performed which is called "taking the lip of the S'a'tpata out of the Cannibal's body." While this is being done, the people cry, "Hoip!" Then they throw the lip upon another Cannibal, who at once falls into an ecstasy. Then the shaman takes it back and throws it up towards the sky, where it disappears. The dish and the spoon that the Cannibal used during his ecstasy are destroyed. For four years he must wear a small ring of red cedar-bark, in summer as well as in winter.

The Ôlx is also initiated in heaven by the being described before (p. 35). There are different traditions regarding his initiation among different clans. Some Ôlx, during their performances, walk ropes which are stretched [534] through the house. When he returns from his initiation, small whistles, called *eaxflaxa*, which imitate the voices of eagles, are heard outside of the houses. Then the Ôlx enters in a state of ecstasy, scratching the people who assemble to hold him, and tearing their blankets. Finally the people succeed in placing a blanket over his head, and he begins to come to his senses. When he enters the house, the people beat time, then he teaches the chorus-leader a song. The mask worn by the Ôlx is quite large, and characterized by a large nose (Plate XII, Fig. 9). He carries a dancing-club (Plate XII, *Fig.* 10), and rings made of red cedar-bark. He is accompanied by two assistants, who also wear masks.

VII.

{121 We will now *discuss* the probable origin of the mythology described in the preceding pages. In order to do so, it is necessary to make a brief statement in regard to the social organization of the neighboring tribes. In {114 another paper[1] I have fully discussed the considerable amount of borrowing 177] that has taken place among the Coast tribes, and the relation of their

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[1] Indianische Sagen von der nord-pacifischen Küste Amerikas, Berlin, 1895, pp. [illegible]

174 contradiction is inherent in all the mythologies of the North Pacific coast,
424 they nowhere reach such a degree as among the Bella Coola; and I presume
the fact that the traditions are kept secret by the various families accounts
414 for this curious condition.

The prayers of the Bella Coola directed to Senx or Ta'ata bear a
171 remarkable resemblance to the prayers of the Tsimshian addressed to Laxha,
782 the sky. In both tribes we find the idea that when the Sun wipes his face
it will be clear weather, and man will be happy; consequently the prayer to
[821] the deity "to wipe his face" occurs quite often.

One of the most important customs that the Bella Coola borrowed from
177 the Coast tribes is the kū'siut ceremonial, with which are connected the
various secret societies, particularly the custom of ceremonial cannibalism.
575 The ceremonies and the paraphernalia used by the Bella Coola and by the
773 Kwakiutl are practically identical. I told above (p. 34) the legend explaining
the origin of cannibalism. Among the Bella Bella and Kwakiutl, another
796 tradition is told to explain the origin of this custom. The tradition tells of a spirit called Baxbakualanuxsī'waē, who lives in the forest, and who initiates the members of the Cannibal Society. The series of traditions clustering around this being differ fundamentally from those referring to the Cannibal Society of the Bella Coola. The custom has also spread to the Tsimshian, who say that the secret societies were introduced by a hunter who was taken into the inside of a cliff by a white bear. Inside he saw a house, in which the various societies were performing their ceremonies. It appears, therefore, that the same ritual which is practised by three distinct tribes is explained by three fundamentally distinct myths; and we must conclude that in this case the ritual is older than the myth,—that the latter has been invented in order to explain customs that were borrowed from foreign tribes, so that the ritual is the primary phenomenon, while the myth is secondary.[1]

These considerations explain some of the psychological motives for the
174 development of certain traditions and myths, as well as the curious incon-
773 sistency of the clan traditions of the Bella Coola. They do not, however, explain the most fundamental characteristic of the traditions of the tribe. I pointed out in the third chapter of this paper, that, notwithstanding the numerous contradictions contained in family legends, the conception of the world and the functions of the various deities are so well defined that we must consider the mythology of this tribe vastly superior to that of the neighboring tribes. While the latter believe in a great many spirits which are not co-ordinated, we have here a system of deities. The existence of a systematic mythology among the Bella Coola proves that under favorable conditions the advance from the lower forms of beliefs to higher forms may be a very rapid one.

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[1] See Report of the U. S. National Museum for 1895, pp. 660 ff.

every morning when the sun rises. He takes care that he rises properly. 556
The first six of these deities are grouped in pairs, and are 773
believed to paint their faces with designs representing moon, stars, 776
and rainbow. In the kū'siut these deities make their appearance, and
are represented by masks. Xē'mtsioa and Xēmxēmalā'oʟa wear the 532
design of the full moon, indicated on the mask of Xē'mtsioa by a 575 ●
double curved line in red and black, the black outside, passing over 776
forehead, cheeks, and upper lip. Xēmxēmalā'oʟa has a double curved
line in red and black, the red outside, which passes over forehead,
cheeks, and chin. Aiumkī'lik·a and Aiumalā'oʟa wear the design of
the crescent, drawn in red and black, with differences similar to those
between the first and second masks. The fifth Q'ōmq'ōmkī'lik·a and
Q'ō'mtsioa have designs representing stars, both wearing the same
style of mask. The seventh is Qula'xawa, whose face represents the
blossom of a salmon-berry bush. The next in order, Kulē'lias (who
wants to have blankets first), wears the design of the rainbow in
black and blue. The ninth, At'amā'k, wears on the head a mask representing
a kingfisher, and is clothed in a bird-skin blanket. The last
of the series is a woman called ʟ'ētsā'aplēʟāna (the eater), the sister of
the others. Her face is painted with the design of a bladder filled with
grease. She figures in several legends as stealing provisions and pursued
by the people whom she has robbed.

The sisau'k·, which is danced at potlatches and other festivals of 575
the clans, is presided over by a being that lives in the sun. A man who 773
had gone out hunting met the sisau'k· and was instructed by him in the 776
secrets of the dance. When he returned, he asked the people to clean 796
their houses and to strew them with clean sand before he consented to
enter. Then he danced the sisau'k· and told the people what he had
seen. He said that the being had commanded them to perform this
dance and to adorn themselves when dancing with carved headdresses
with trails of ermine skins, and to swing carved rattles. The man,
later on, returned to the sun. Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance 614
the sisau'k·. Besides this, it is stated that the raven gave each clan its 424
secrets. Each clan has its peculiar carvings, which are used in the 532
sisau'k· only, and are otherwise kept a profound secret, i. e., they are
the sacred possessions of each clan. All clans, however, wear the beautiful [292]
carved headdresses and use the raven rattles, regardless of the [534]
carving they represent. Every time the sacred objects of a clan are
shown to the people a potlatch is given. The sacred objects, although 424
the property of the various clans, must nevertheless be acquired by 532
each individual—that is to say, every free person has the right to 556
acquire a certain group of carvings and names, according to the clan 614
to which he or she belongs. Slaves and slaves' children, also illegitimate [567]
children, can not become sisau'k·. A person can not take a [848]
new carving, but must wait until it is given to him by his relatives—
father, mother, or elder brother. Nusk'ᴇlu'sta, the Indian, to whom I [115]

424 owe my information regarding the clans, and who is a member of the
532 gens Ialō′stimōt of the Taliō′mx·, stated that he had received the raven
614 when he gave his first potlatch. At his second potlatch he received
[115] the eagle. He hoped that his mother would give him the whale at his
[556] next potlatch, and would at the same time divulge to him the secrets connected with it. In course of time, he said, he might get even others
from his brother; but if the latter's children should prove to be very
good, and develop very rapidly, his brother would probably give his
secrets to his own children. At festivals, when a person acquires a new
424 secret, he changes his name. Each person has two names, a kū′siut
551 name, which remains through life, and a Xē′mtsioa name, which is
556 changed at these festivals. Thus, Nusk′ᴇlu′sta's (which is his kū′siut
575 name) Xē′mtsioa name was Aʟ′iʟᴇmnᴇ′lus′aix·, but at his next potlatch he intended to take the name of Kaliā′kis. These names are
614 also the property of the various clans, each clan having its own names.
When a man possesses several sisau′k· secrets, he will distribute them
among his children. When a girl marries, her father or mother may,
after a child has been born to her, give one or several of their sisau′k·
secrets to her husband, as his children make him a member of her clan.
When a person grows old, he gives away all his sisau′k· secrets. After
any secret has been given away the giver must not use it any more.
[426] The crest and the sisau′k· carvings must not be loaned to others,
but each person must keep his own carvings. The only exceptions are
the carved headdresses and the raven rattles, which are not the
property of any particular clan.

426 The laws regarding the potlatch are similar to those of the Kwakiutl.
556 The receiver of a present becomes the debtor of the person who gave
the potlatch. If the latter should die, the debts become due to his heirs. If the debtor should die, his heirs become responsible for the debt. Property is also destroyed at potlatches. This is not returned, and serves only to enhance the social position of the individual who performed this act. It is not necessary that all the property given by a person in a potlatch should be owned by him. He may borrow part of it from his friends, and has to repay it with interest. I was told, for instance, that a man borrowed a large copper plate and burnt it at a potlatch. When doing so, he had to name the price which he was going to pay the owner in its stead. Since that feast he died, and his heirs are now responsible for the amount named at the potlatch.

575 The kū′siut is presided over by a female spirit, called Anaūlikuts′-
773 ai′x·. Her abode is a cave in the woods, which she keeps shut from
February till October, remaining all the while inside. In October she
776 opens the door of her cave and sits in front of it. A woman is said to
535 have been the first to find her. Anaūlikuts′ai′x· invited her into her
cave and taught her the secrets of the kū′siut. She wore ornaments
of red cedar bark around her head, waist, and ankles; her face was
blackened, her hair strewn with eagle down. She commanded the

woman to dance in the same way as she saw her dancing. The people 575
should accompany her dance with songs, and, after she had finished, 773
they should dance with masks. She said, "Whenever a person sees 776
me, your people shall dance the kū'siut. If you do not do so, I shall 535
punish you with death and sickness. In summer, while I am in my
house, you must not dance the kū'siut."

Ever since that time the Bi'lxula dance the kū'siut. When a man 575
has seen Anaūlikuts'ai'x· sitting in front of her cave, he will invite the 776
people to a kū'siut. A ring made of red and white cedar bark is hung
up in his house, and the uninitiated are not allowed to enter it. Only 535
in the evening, when dances are performed, they may look on, standing
close to the door. As soon as the dances are over, they must retire
from the taboo house. Each kū'siut lasts three days.

The various dances performed by members of the kū'siut are also 535
property of the clans, and the right to perform them is restricted to 575
members of the clan. They must not be given to a daughter's husband, as is the case with the sisau'k· dances, but belong to the mem- 614
bers of the clan, who have a right to a particular dance, but who do
not own it. Permission to use a mask or dance is obtained from the 575
owner by payments. The owner may reclaim the dance or the borrower [426]
may return it at any time. Membership of the kū'siut is obtained
through an initiation. At this time the novice is given his kū'siut [551]
name, which is inherited by young persons from their parents or from [428]
other relatives. Thus a young man who had the name of Pō'pō until
he was about seventeen years old, obtained at his initiation the name
of ʟ'akō'oʟ. I have not reached a very clear understanding of the
details of the initiation; it seems that the dance is simply given to the [556]
novice in the same way as the sisau'k·, this initiation being connected
with a potlatch. But still it seems possible that he must "dream" of the
dance which he is to perform. Only the highest degrees of the kū'siut
have to pass through a religious ceremony of some importance. The [171]
highest degrees are the ᴇlaxō'ʟa (the hā'mats'a of the Kwakiutl), the [554]
ō'lᴇx (the nū'ʟmaʟ of the Kwakiutl), and the dā'tia (the nō'ntsistalaʟ
of the Kwakiutl). These grades are also hereditary. A kū'siut novice
may acquire them at once at his first initiation.

When the ᴇlaxō'ʟa is initiated, he goes into the forest, where he 575
encounters his guardian spirit. It is believed that he goes up to the 785
sun, and formerly he had to take human flesh along for food. The 787
chiefs held a council the night preceding the beginning of the ceremonies, and anyone who wanted to show his liberality offered one of [266]
his slaves to be killed in order to serve as food for the ᴇlaxō'ʟa. The
offer was accepted, and a payment of from ten to twenty blankets was
made for the slave. The latter was killed, and the members of the
ᴇlaxō'ʟa order devoured one-half of the body before the departure of
the novice to the woods. There the latter was tied up and left to fast.
He may stay there for twenty or thirty days until the spirit appears

575 to him and takes him up to the sun, where he is initiated. Early one
[785] morning he returns, and is heard outside the houses. He has lost all
[787] his hair, which, it is believed, has been torn out by the strong breeze
blowing in the higher regions. He is quite naked, and bites everyone
[152] whom he can lay hold of. If he can not catch anyone he will bite his
own arm. It is believed that he has lost his soul, which fled from the
[774] body when the spirit came to him. Therefore the shamans must try
[756] for four days to recapture his soul. The night after they have recovered
it the Elaxö'La dances, clothed in a bearskin and wearing a large
[292] head ring, heavy bracelets and anklets, all made of red cedar bark.
[301] Sometimes he appears wearing the mask of the S'ä'Lpsta (fig. 200),
the spirit which initiated him. This mask corresponds exactly to that
[532] of BaxbakuālanuXsī'waē of the Kwakiutl. Some Elaxö'La do not
[171] bite people, but merely
devour raw salmon or
tear dogs to pieces and
[266] devour them. Those who
bite people will also
devour corpses. The
Elaxö'La has to observe
a number of regulations.
[525] For four years after his
initiation he must not
[834] gamble. He must stay away from his wife for one
year, but this period is being reduced to one month.
For two or three months he must not leave his house.

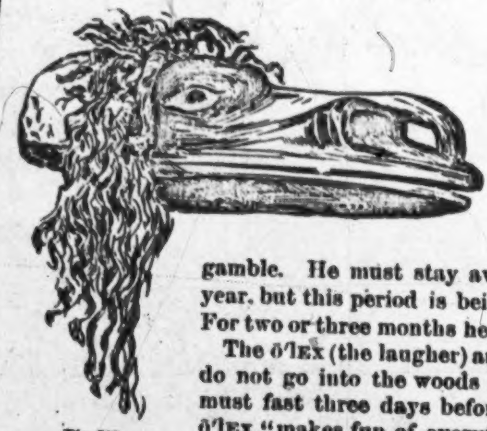

Fig. 200.
MASK OF THE S'Ä'LPSTA.
Bi'lxula.
Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M.
Collected by F. Boas.

The ö'lEx (the laugher) and the dā'tia (the thrower) do not go into the woods to be initiated, but both must fast three days before their first dance. The ö'lEx "makes fun of everything" and scratches people with his nails. The dā'tia carries stones and sticks and breaks household goods and canoes. If he has destroyed some object during the day, he pays for it at night when he dances. The ö'lEx and the dā'tia, after they have danced, must stay in their houses for one month.

575 If a person transgresses the laws of the kū'siut, for instance, when
688 the Elaxö'La gambles, or when a man performs a dance to which he
has no right, also when a person derides the ceremonies or makes a
mistake in dancing, his punishment is death. The chiefs assemble in
[692] council and the offender is called before the court. After his offense
has been proved, he is asked whether he is willing to suffer the penalty
of death. If he is not willing and one of his relatives is found willing
575 to take the penalty on himself, the guilty party is spared and the substitute
688 killed in his stead. The execution of the judgment is intrusted
754 to the shaman, who bewitches the condemned person by throwing disease
756 into him or by poisoning him in some other (supernatural?) way.
The object thrown by the shaman is a shell, bone, or finger nail, around

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the middle of which objects a human hair is tied. If this object strikes the offender, he will fall sick. Blood is believed to collect in his stomach, and if it so happens that he vomits this blood, and with it the disease-producing object, he will recover, and is not molested any further. The masks (not the whistles and other ornaments) used in the kū'siut are burnt immediately at the close of each dancing season. Novices must wear a necklace of red cedar bark over their blankets for a whole year. The masks used in the dances represent mythical personages, and the dances are pantomimic representations of myths. Among others, the thunder bird and his servant, ALxulā'tEnum (who wears a mask with red and blue stripes over the whole face from the right-hand upper side to the left-hand lower side, and carries a staff with red and blue spiral lines), appear in the dances. Prominent masks are also Xē'mtsioa and his brothers and his sisters; Masmasalā'nix and his fellows, the raven and the nuaxē'mta, and many others.[1]

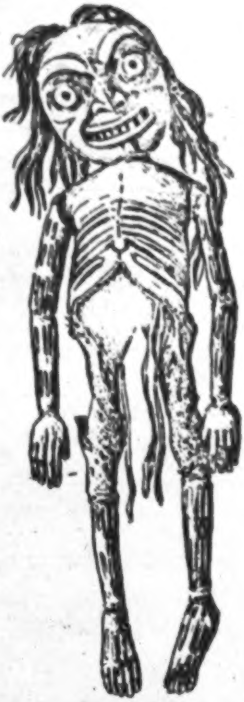

Fig. 201.

HEADDRESS OF ŌLALA'.

Haida.

Cat. No. [illegible], U. S. N. M. Collected by J. G. Swan.

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THE TSIMSHIAN, NĪSQA', HAIDA, AND TLINGIT.

The tribes of this group learned the ceremonial avowedly from the Hē'iltsuq. Although I have not witnessed any part of their ceremonials, the descriptions which I received bring out with sufficient clearness its similarities to the winter ceremonial of the Kwakiutl. The ceremonials seem to be almost identical among all these tribes. It is most complete among the southwestern Tsimshian tribes, particularly the G·itxā'La, but has been adopted by all the tribes of the coast. It is said that it reached the Haida not more than a hundred years ago.

I will tell here what I learned from the Nisqa'. They have six societies, which rank in the following order: The sEmhalai't, mē'iLa', lōLE'm, ōlala', nanēstā't, hōnana'L, the last being the highest. The sEmhalai't is really not confined to the winter ceremonial, but is obtained when a person acquires the first guardian spirit of his clan and performs the ceremony belonging to this event. The tradition of the origin of these ceremonies localizes the events at Bellabella, and it

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[1] See "Indianische Sagen von der Nord-Pacifischen Küste Amerikas," page 241, by F. Boas.